THE QUEST

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Edited by G. R. S. Mead.

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THE QUEST.

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THE QUEST

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THE NEWLY REDISCOVERED WITNESS OF JOSEPHUS TO JESUS.

ROBERT EISLER, Ph.D.

THOSE of our readers who are interested in the fragments of the Slavonic Josephus, translated and discussed by the Editor in the July No. of THE QUEST, 1924,[1] may like to know that they can be obtained not only in the expensive editions of Behrens and Frey (referred to on pp. 460 and 461 by Mr. Mead), but in a sixpenny booklet[2]).

The present writer has for long been intensely interested in these texts, which have never yet been taken into account in the dispute over Josephus' witness to Jesus. The following theory—differing essentially from the views of Berendt, Seeberg and Frey—was first set forth in a lecture given at the Jews' College, London, in December, 1924, under the auspices of the Anglo-Palestinian Club. He believes that the

[1] And reprinted in revised form in his recent study, *The Gnostic John the Baptiser*. London (Watkins); 1924; pp. 103-109.

[2] Apocrypha III.: Agrapha, Slavische Josephusstücke; Oxyrynchos Fragment, 1911. Herausgeg. von Erich Klostermann (Lietzmann's Kleine Texte, No. II., 2nd ed. 1911; Bonn (Marcus und Weber); pp. 30.

CBH 120

famous passage on Jesus in the Greek text of Josephus' *Antiquities* (xviii. 3. 3) is not a Christian forgery, but a Christian falsification. The genuine words of the author, which were of course hostile to Jesus and his Messianic claims, have been overworked, it is true, yet not very strongly or irreparably, as will presently be shown. An authentic passage on Jesus and his story *must* have existed in this context, for Josephus later on (xx. 29. 1) refers to "James the Just, the brother of Jesus the so-called Messiah," thus clearly presupposing that his readers already know all about this 'alleged Christ."[1] He could not have done so, if he had not given the necessary information in a previous passage; and there is no place where he could have done this but in the one which is now so obviously adulterated. The James-reference[2] has escaped the fate of the Jesus-passage, simply because '*ho legomenos Christos*' need not necessarily mean 'the so-called Christ,'—though of course it could not mean anything else in the mouth of a Jewish writer who rejects the Messianic claims of Jesus,—but might equally well be read by believing Christians as meaning simply 'Jesus surnamed the Christ.' As a matter of fact the very words "*Iésous ho legomenos Christos*" are found in Matth. 1$_{16}$.

In my opinion, moreover, the Slavonic text of 'The Jewish War' also is just as obviously overworked in the passage about Jesus as is the Greek text of 'The Antiquities.' But the interpolations in this case have not irreparably obliterated the original text. They

[1] This has been emphasized correctly, among others, by H. W. Magoun, 'The Testimony of Josephus concerning Jesus,' *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1912, p. 294. Similarly by P. Corssen, *Zeitschr. f. neutest. Wiss.* 1914, pp. 132f.

[2] The authenticity of which has been revindicated beyond the possibility of doubt by Eduard Norden (*Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klass. Altertum*, etc., vol. xxxi., Leipzig, 1913, p. 649, note 1) against Emil Schürer (*Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*, 4th edit., Leipzig, 1901, i. 548 and 581).

are in the main cleverly interposed between the genuine sentences. Hence, by removing all those additions which have an obvious Christian tendency, and by comparing the overworked Greek text with the Slavonic parallels, we can recover most of the original sense of the two Jewish originals. I hope to publish detailed proofs of this thesis in the new German review *Angelos*, edited by Prof. Leipoldt under the auspices of the Leipzig Institutes for the Study of the History of Religion and devoted specially to the culture and history of New Testament times. In the meantime a short presentation both of the Greek and the Slavonic Josephus-texts, disentangled from their Christian additions, may be welcome to readers of THE QUEST.

I arrange these two accounts in parallel columns. The first gives a rendering of the Greek of the 'Antiquities' passage, which I have endeavoured to restore to its original form before it was touched up by Christian scribes. The second and third columns give respectively versions of the Slavonic of the 'War' passage broken up into the original text and interpolations.

In both accounts Josephus has just spoken of the Jewish rebellion caused by Pilate's truculent order to carry the standards of the Roman legions into the precincts of the sacred city. For the Jews these standards were nothing but idols. He goes on then to say somewhat as follows:

[The notes to the parallel columns follow on pp. 7 and 8. It has been found difficult to arrange the matter in a more convenient form. The original intention was to have the text and notes printed on one large sheet and inserted like a map; but unfortunately economy must be studied.—ED.]

Greek Text of 'Antiquities' (xviii. 3.3.).

At that time arose Jesus,[1] a wis[dom-teaching][2] man, if I may call him 'a man'[3] [the most prodigious of men, who (is said to have) wrought such miracles as no man ever before].[4] For he was a wonder-working rabbi (*didaskalos*) of such men as always with pleasure accept such things.[5]

And he seduced many Jews and many from the Hellenised folk (to believe that)[6] he was the Messiah.

Slavonic Text of 'War' (ii. 9.3.).

Jewish Original.

At that time also a man came forward, if one may call 'a man' one who, in spite of his human nature and form, made a show of being more than a man by working miracles[10] through some kind of invisible power[11] . . . . . .

Considering [his] general character, however, *I* shall certainly not call him an angel.[12] Some said of him that our first law-giver (*viz.* Moses) had risen from the dead and was now showing forth many cures and arts. Others, however, said that he was [the promised] envoy of God.[13]

But he opposed himself in many things to the Law; for instance he did not observe the Sabbath according to [our] ancestral law. Not that he did anything shameful or criminal [himself], but through his word [s] he instigated everything.

And many from the folk followed him and accepted his teaching; and many souls became wavering, believing that through it (*viz.* his teaching) the Jewish tribes would set themselves free from the hands of the Romans.

Now it was his habit to stay most of the time on the Mount of Olives before the city.[14] And there also he avouched his cures to the people. And there gathered themselves to him of slaves a hundred and fifty, and of the populace[15] a crowd.

But when they saw his power, that he could accomplish everything he would by a [magic] word, they urged him that he should enter the city and hew down the Roman soldiers and Pilate and rule over us. . . . .

Thereafter, when knowledge of it came to the Jewish leaders, they gathered together with the High Priest and spake: We are powerless and [too] weak to withstand the

Christian Interpolations.

But His works were godly, amazing and full of power. Therefore *I* cannot possibly call Him a man. And all that He wrought He wrought by word[25] and command only.

But He scorned this.

Romans. And as the bow is bent also [against us][16] we will go and tell Pilate what we have heard, and we will be without distress; lest if he hear it of others, we be robbed of our substance[17] and ourselves be put to the sword[18] and the children [of Israel] dispersed. And they went and told it to Pilate; and he sent and had many of the people cut down.

And although, on the ground of an indictment [made] by our leading men,

As for that wonder-worker, he had him brought before him; and, after he had tried him,

he perceived that He was a benefactor, not an evil-doer, not a revolutionary nor one who aimed at government, and set Him free. For He had healed his dying wife.[26] And He went to His accustomed place, and wrought His accustomed works. And as again more [and more] folk gathered themselves together round Him, then did He win glory through His works more than all [others].

The teachers of the law were [thus] envenomed with envy, and gave thirty talents to Pilate in order that he should put Him to death. And after he had taken the money he gave them permission that they themselves should carry out their purpose and

he had been condemned to the cross by Pilate,

they took him and crucified him according to the ancestral custom.[19]

('War' ii. 11.6) Again [the emperor] Claudius sent his procurators to those states, Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander, both of whom kept the people in peace, not allowing them to depart in anything from the pure laws.[20]

But if anyone diverged from the word of the Law, plaint was brought before the teachers of the Law. And more often than otherwise they (the procurators) in consequence exiled him or sent him into the emperor's presence.[21]

those who had been content with[7] him before that, did not stop [even now].

And at the time of these two many had been discovered as 'subjects'[22] of the previously described wonder-doer.

(They said to the people[8] that) he had appeared to them on the third day alive again, according to the foretelling of this and of thousands of other miracles about him by the prophets of God.[8a]

And as they spake to the people of their rabbi, *that* he is alive, although he had died, and that he would free us from servitude, many from the people gave ear to the above-named and took unto them their law. They were, you know, all from the lower orders, some just cobblers, others sandal-makers or other artisans.

But when those noble governors saw that the people were led astray, they deliberated with the scribes how to seize them,

since "the small is no longer small, when it ends in being great."[23]

They (the governors) sent away some of them to the emperor, others to Antioch[24] for a trial of the matter, others (they exiled) to [their own] distant countries.

Claudius, however, removed the two procurators and sent Cumanus.

Even until this day the 'tribe'[9] of the *Christianoi* (*i.e.* Messianists) who are so called after him, has not ceased.

And yet, what marvellous signs did they accomplish —in truth whatever they chose to do—and that not for the sake of their own glory.[27]

and to kill (annihilate)[28] them,

But they (the procurators) shrank back and were alarmed over the signs, saying: In the plain course [of nature] such things do not happen. If, however, they (the wonders) do not issue from a decree of God, they (the followers of Jesus) will be quickly convicted [by Him].[29] But afterwards, having been pestered by them[30] (*viz.* the scribes), they (the procurators) gave authority to them (the scribes) to act as they would.

Notes.

[1] See note 11.

[2] Gk. *sophos anēr*. But the original had probably *sophistēs tis anēr*, as Josephus (*B.J.* ii. 18.1) calls the revolutionary Judas the Galilean ('a sophist of a peculiar persuasion of his own') or (*Antiqq.* xx. 5.1) the rebel Theudas ('*goēs tis anēr*').

[3] That this may be anything else but a compliment in the mouth of Josephus will be seen by comparing Clement of Alexandria's invective against the 'Orpheuses' of Methymna and Lesbos,—"*andres tines ouk andres, apatēloi*,"—"men who would be more than men, but who were mere swindlers" (*Coh. ad Gent.*, p. 8 Potter).

[4] I have reconstructed this phrase on the basis of *Acta Pilati* (*Evang. Apocr.* ed. Tischendorf, 1876, p. 314): "O sweet Jesus, *most prodigious* friend *among men, if I may call thee a man, who has worked wonders such as no man ever wrought before.*" The last sentence is in high probability derived from a copy of Josephus christianized in a different way from our present text. The word *exaisiōtate ex anthrōpōn*, which I have translated 'most prodigious among men,' may equally be translated 'most criminal of humans,' and therefore can have been a term of violent abuse in the original Josephus. It means in any case 'most abnormal' and would never have been chosen as a laudatory term by an independent Christian writer. As to the restitution of the necessary words 'is said to have' cp. the parallel cases discussed in notes 6 and 8.

[5] The Christianized text has *t'alēthē* ('the truth') for the original '*toiauta*,' which the hostile tone of the author requires.

[6] St. Jerome (*De Vir. Illustr.* 13) translates "*credebatur esse Christus*" ('he was *believed to be* the Messiah'), where the adulterated text reads: "This man *was* the Christ." This shows how the original must have run.

[7] In Josephus *agapān* never means 'to love,' only 'to be satisfied with.' Note the contemptuous tone "who had been satisfied with such a Messiah."

[8] "They spake to the people" must be inserted here, as in the Slavonic text, before the statement of the Christian beliefs as to the resurrection of the Messiah. Just as in the phrase "he *was* the Christ" (for an original "*believe* him to be the Messiah"), the following words were originally given in indirect speech ("*phanēnai gar elegon*").

[9] A valuable allusion to the use of what Rendel Harris calls 'Testimonies' in the earliest Christian propaganda.

[10] That is to say, the renewed true *people* of Israel, the 'new' or 'true' Israel, as the Christians called themselves. Cp. Cæcilius (Minuc. Felix, 8) who calls the Christians 'a nation (*natio*) in hiding (*latebrosa*) and shunning the light (*lucifugax*).'

[11] Gk. *paradóxōn ergōn poiētēs*, 'a worker of unexpected uncommon feats,' the tone being the same as that in which a modern Westernized Jew would speak of a Ḥasidic 'wonder-rabbi.' Miracle-mongering was not uncommon at that time, and Josephus naturally regarded the miracles of Jesus in the same light as the Christians those of Simon the Samaritan magus.

[12] Note that the name 'Jesus' is missing in the Slavonic text. As it cannot have been the intention of Josephus to omit it, I believe that between the first and second paragraphs of the Slavonic a sentence is missing in which Josephus said something like "he called himself Joshua, claiming to be the reborn Joshua of old—or some other *'iš 'elōhīm*" (man of God, divine man).

[13] In the Samaritan *Book of Joshua* (ch. 29, p. 200, Juynboll) Joshua calls himself a 'human and angelic' being ('*al nasutiu wa'al ruḥaniu*')—that is to say, at once human and superhuman (lit. ghostly). Apparently this is meant as an explanation of *'iš 'elōhīm* (lit. man [of] God [s]) and corresponds to the Greek *hemi-theos* ('demi-god') as well as to the old Babylonian

description of the hero Gilgamesh (*Gilg. Epic*, ix. 2.16; i. 2.1): "two-thirds of him are god, one-third humanity (*sic !*)." The parallel shows that the Samaritan idea may be very old. *Ned.* 20 ab—"Why are scholars called 'angels'? Because they are distinguished (above ordinary men) even as angels"—shows that it was not at all abhorrent to the Jewish mind to call a human being an 'angel' or 'messenger' of God.

[13] That is to say the *Shiloh* of *Gen.* 49[10], a word which was explained as meaning 'the envoy' (*Shiloaḥ*—Vulgate: *qui mittendus est*) of God, who is to come at the end of time. As will be seen from Dr. Gaster's Schweich Lectures the 'envoy' is the Samaritan, that is the early Israelite term for the Messiah.

[14] Josephus knows only the last phase of Jesus' activity, nothing of the initial propaganda in Galilee.

[15] J. means by the word 'people' the *'am ha'areṣ*, the 'people of the land,' the *ochloi* ('masses') of the Synoptics.

[16] The 'also,' translated 'withal' by Mr. Mead, requires a complement. The so-called 'cleansing of the temple' was '*also*' an attack against the priestly hierarchy, not only a revolution against the Roman garrison.

[17] Through Jesus' overthrowing of the temple-banks and his destruction of the temple-market. [18] By the Roman soldiers.

[19] Only through cutting out the Christian interpolation can we make this sentence yield an appropriate sense. For *crucifying* rebels is an old *Roman*, never an old Jewish custom or law.

[20] With this cp. the Greek text of *B.J.* ii. 11.6.:

"He left a son Agrippa. But since this son was still a child Claudius made the land again into a province and sent as procurator Cuspius Fadus, after him Tiberius Alexander. Under those two governors the people remained in peace, because they changed nothing of its ancestral customs." That is to say these two procurators worked hand in glove with the native hierarchy.

[21] If the accused was a Roman citizen, he had—as every reader knows from the story of Paul (Acts 25[11, 12, 21, 25, 32])—the right to appeal to the emperor.

[22] The Messiah being a pretender to the world-empire, those who believed in his kingship and rendered allegiance to him, were termed his 'subjects' (lit. servants). [23] Obviously a proverbial saying.

[24] That is, to the legate of Syria, to whom the procurator of Judæa was subordinated in matters of serious military and political importance. (Cp. *Antiqq.* xviii. 8.2-9; xx. 1.1; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 10.1-5; ii. 14.3, 13.1, 18.9ff.).

[25] That is to say, *not* by magic herbs or other artful contrivances, such as *e.g.* the mechanical devices for working wonders, described by Heron of Alexandria or the sorcerer's practices discussed by Hippolytus of Portus.

[26] This is a transparent allusion to the apocryphal Christian legend about Pilate's wife (see note 4), the whole being the typical attempt of Paulinist Cæsarized Christianity to exonerate the Roman officials—thereby disproving the charge of anarchism against themselves and their master through the judgment of the most competent Roman authority.

[27] The last phrase is a separate Christian gloss, which has crept into the text in the wrong place, where it makes no sense whatever. It means: What wonders the apostles did, they did in the name and for the glory of the Christ.

[28] Thus in the second Moscow MS. The following shows that the Christians were quite leniently treated at first. The second verb is clearly interpolated. [29] Obviously imitated from Acts 5[38].

[30] A late gloss inserted in the wrong place.

Fragment VI., on the trilingual inscription concerning Jesus' condemnation,[1] is untouched. It contains nothing that Josephus could not have said, and nothing that might not very well be true. Jesus *had* entered in triumph the national sanctuary, driven out those that bought and sold and overturned the tables of the money-changers. There was every reason for the hierarchs to record for posterity that he had *not* reigned as a king of Israel after all. He *had* proclaimed the destruction of the temple (Jn. 2_{16}), and announced that he would rebuild the national sanctuary,—the desert-tent, which David had placed on Mount Zion and which the Messiah, the New David, was to restore according to Samaritan tradition.[2] He had not denied this accusation (Mk. $15_{58\text{-}61}$; Matth. $26_{61\text{-}63}$) and was condemned on the basis of it. As to the 'destruction of the City,' passages like Matth. 23_{37}ff., Lk. 13_{34}f., 19_{44}, account very well also for this statement.

Fragment VII., on the contrary, is from beginning to end a Christian interpolation—and a very silly one at that. It is not worth discussing in detail.

Fragment VIII. is genuine; and it is of the greatest historic importance, as the reader may see by comparing the above-quoted papers by Norden and Corssen, who have ignored this priceless text. Those 'who believe that Herod is the Messiah' (*Christum Herodem esse dixerunt*) are mentioned also by Tertullian (*De Praescript. contr. Haeret.* Append. 45). Want of space prevents me from going into this question here.

Almost free from Christian retouching and abso-

[1] The Quest, p. 468; *John the Baptizer*, p. 108.

[2] A. Merx, *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift f. Alt. Test. Wissenschaft*, xvii., p. 43. See a paper by the present writer to appear in the first number of the *Zeitschrift f. Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* for 1926.

lutely genuine are the passages on John the Baptizer. The contradictions in chronology, etc., with Josephus himself[1] in 'Antiquities' xviii. 5. 1 and 4[2]) can be paralleled from other equally strong contradictions found in the 'War' and in the 'Antiquities.'[3] They are due to the fact that this very careless author (or more probably his literary underlings, slave-copyists, whose work he did not revise with sufficient care) used different sources at different times.

In this case, moreover, we are not simply comparing the version of the 'Antiquities' (93-94 A.D.) with that of the 'War' (75-79 A.D.) but with an altogether different edition of the latter work.

Professor V. Istrin, of the St. Petersburg Academy, who has been engaged for many years on a scientific edition of the whole Slavonic Josephus (of which we may hope to have later on an English translation) has kindly informed me in a recent letter that the Slavonic text differs throughout from the Greek to such an extent that it would be quite impossible simply to record its variants in notes to our Greek versions. It is an altogether different work on the same subject.

In the face of this statement we can draw only two conclusions: The Slavonic is either a translation of a very free and arbitrary Byzantine paraphrase of the extant Greek text; or it is based on another edition

[1] In the first line of Fragment III. (THE QUEST, 1924, p. 465; *John the Baptizer*, p. 105) the name 'Herodias' inserted after 'his wife' is obviously an interpolation by a Christian reader on the basis of Mk. 6[17]. For this blunder Josephus cannot be held responsible. In §10 of the same fragment (p. 466, QUEST; p. 106, *John Bapt.*) '*not even* at Easter' is a mistranslation. The original ran '*excepting* at Easter.'

[2] Mead, THE QUEST, 1924, p. 472, *John the Baptizer*, p. 112.

[3] See, for instance, the examples given by Hölscher, in his article 'Josephus,' in Pauly-Kroll, *Realencyclopädie d. klass. Altertums*, cc. 1989 n., 1990, 1991.

of the 'War' than the Greek text which is so familiar to the whole Occidental world.

In the first case, the Slavonic translator must have worked on the basis of a copy of Josephus which still contained the original accounts about John the Baptist and Jesus that were later on remorselessly removed by the Christian copyists of the 'War' on the one hand, and on the other overworked into the present recklessly foreshortened and adulterated shape by the Christian scribes who copied the 'Antiquities.' In this case, moreover, we should want to know what powerful motive could have induced a later Greek or Byzantine —not to speak of an early Slavonic—author to remodel with such enormous pains the whole of Josephus' story of the Jewish War into a different literary shape; and we should have to ask further, how it has come about that nothing is known in the whole Greek and Byzantine world of such a re-manipulated Greek Josephus. Personally, I think that this alternative can be dismissed at sight.

Even without knowing a word of the unedited Slavonic text beyond the above-discussed passages, I am of opinion that everything is in favour of the second alternative.[1]—Josephus says himself, in the preface to the 'War' (i. 3), that he was led to undertake the task, because people had written about it rhetorically without any direct knowledge: "Therefore I decided to translate into Greek for the inhabitants of the Roman empire (*tois kata tēn Romaiōn hegemonian*) the account of the War, *which I had written before in my own native language* and sent to *tois anō barbarois* —that is (according to i. 16) "to the Jews of the

[1] In this respect I agree entirely with Berendt in Gebhardt-Harnack, *Texte u. Untersuch.* xxix. 4 (1906), pp. 71f.

Parthian empire of Babylonia, of far-off Arabia and of Adiabēnē on the other side of the Euphrates."

There is no reason to doubt that Josephus did write such an account of the War, in which he had played a leading and rather dubious *rôle*, in Aramæan (his own native tongue and the official language of the whole Near East) for those people whom the Jews had expected to take an active part in their insurrection (i. 6), and who must have, therefore, shown at least a considerable theoretic interest in the whole issue. This edition must have been very different from the extant Greek text, which was written in order to win the favour of the ruling Roman dynasty and of the whole Hellenistic world for those surviving Jews, who had—from the first, as he pretended—discouraged the Messianistic hopes of their more fanatical brethren. If such a work was in the possession of the Babylonian, Persian, East Arabian and Adiabenian Jews, it could easily come into the hands of Jews in Armenia and South Russia, and also into those of the Turkish Chazars settled in South Russia, who had been converted wholesale to the Jewish faith some time between 860 and 900 A.D., and carried on an extensive trade between Persia and Russia, Bulgaria and Byzantium. When they were subjugated by the Russians (about 969) and forcibly converted to orthodox Christianity, their manuscripts must have fallen into the hands of the Russians, and may easily have been translated with the help of some converted Chazar-Jewish rabbi into Old Slavonic.[1] The hatred of the Jews against the traitor Josephus would account for the fact that the Aramaic Josephus is

[1] Old Slavonic translations of Hebrew writings exist and have been published, and any Rabbinic scholar will translate Aramaic with the same ease as Hebrew.

never quoted by a Babylonian rabbi or even a Karaite, and that the manuscript survived only in an environment of Jewish proselytes who could not feel so intensely on a point of national honour. The way which the manuscript in question would have travelled, according to this hypothesis, would then be much the same as that of the famous St. Petersburg Codex of the Later Prophets, a manuscript of wholly Eastern ancestry, dating from the 9th century,—that is, from the period of the Jewish kings of the Chazars.

However this may be, the reconstruction of what Josephus said in the Jewish War about John the Baptist and Jesus, entirely invalidates the position of Norden, who has cut out entirely the Jesus-passage in the 'Antiquities' on the ground that it does not fit into the context,—that is, into the enumeration of a series of Jewish '*thoryboi*' or '*staseis*'—riots or revolts, which occurred in Jerusalem and elsewhere under the governorship of Pilate.

On the contrary, what Josephus relates about Jesus in the Slavonic text *is* a typical account of what the author calls a *thorybos*, and it ends in the typical way of all the parallel accounts, "Pilate sent and had many of the people cut down." The addition of the Christian interpolator "but he scorned this" to "they urged him, he should enter the city, cut down the Roman soldiers and Pilate and rule over us" is proved to be untrue, as far as the 'entering the city' and the 'ruling over us' are concerned, by the gospel-accounts of the triumphal entry into Jerusalem of Jesus riding on the ass's colt and being hailed as the son of David, the Messianic king. This Messianic proclamation and the stirring scenes which subsequently occurred in the Temple certainly constitute what the New-England riot-acts

of 1796 legally describe as "routously, riotously and tumultuously assemble and make a great and loud noise and disturbance," in short, what an ancient historian could and would call a '*thorybos*.'

Many years ago I pointed out that these culminating events of Jesus' life are plainly and unequivocally called a '*stasis*' or 'rebellion,' the partakers in it 'rebels' (*stasiastai*) in Mk. 15$_7$, where the Christian author says: "And there was in prison Bar-Abbas, as he was called, with his co-rebels (*meta tōn susstasiastōn*), who had committed manslaughter in *the* revolution" (*en tēi stasei*). However often our commentators may tell us that we do not know *which* rebellion among the many uprisings that occurred in Jerusalem at that time Mark may have meant, it must be quite plain to every unprejudiced reader, that '*the* rebellion' spoken of without a word of further explanation can be only *the* Messianist outburst which the author has himself described a few chapters before (11$_9$, $_{15\text{-}17}$).

Nothing could be more indicative of the rapid Paulinist modification of the original Messianist movement than that this mention of 'the rebellion' by Mark should have been intentionally obscured by Luke 23$_{19}$, where it says that "Bar-Abbas had committed manslaughter during *some* rebellion (*dia stasin tina*) in the city." The word *lēistēs* ('robber'), which John applies to Bar-Abbas in the parallel passage (18$_{40}$), had certainly the political meaning of 'revolutionary bandit' in Josephus and in the general language of the time; and, if Jesus was crucified between two such 'bandits,'[1] they were obviously two *sys-stasiastai* (co-revolutionaries) taken prisoner on the same memorable occasion. That Josephus abhorred this *stasis* and *thorybos* not

[1] This has been pointed out already by Corssen, *l.c.*, p. 126.

less than those instigated by Judas the Galilean, by Theudas and by others whom he called 'wiseacres' (*sophistai*), 'wizards' (*goētes*) and 'fanatics' (*zēlōtai*), cannot be doubted for a moment. It would be interesting to know how he toned down his original account of the Messianist crisis, *pour l'usage du Dauphin*, for his Imperial patron. But the wholesale omission of the crucial passage in the Greek text of the 'War' and the partial destruction and overworking of the parallel account in the 'Antiquities,' which deprive us of this glimpse into his talent of diplomatic *camouflage*, will make us doubly grateful to the more considerate Slavonic interpolators, who have preserved most of Josephus' original testimony to Jesus, and thereby enabled us to dispose once and for all of the fanciful denials of the historicity of the Nazarene Prophet.

ROBERT EISLER.

THE OTHER GATES TO THE GARDEN OF EDEN: OR THE PREHISTORY OF RELIGION.

VACHER BURCH, D.Th.

A MYTH lives because it is a kind of social chameleon. It must be able to take on varying social colour. The body of the story remains; then the fresh colours give it new power to impose itself on us. We sometimes make the mistake of thinking that a myth with long life is a theological chameleon. Gods and goddesses do not change their natures as often as they change their wardrobes. They may come from the mountains to the plains, and from the plains to the sea; they are wafted on many sorts of magic carpets from one continent to another; they change their names with more ingenuity than all the ingenious persons commemorated in the Newgate Calendar,—but their essence, an accent or whim or some such spiritual motion, will betray their unchanging selves. The more you change them theologically, the more they are the same folk. This, of course, is just what would be, since, up to this moment, the current theologies are wayward sociologies: they are superstructures built on the plan of our notions of societies of men and women. Man's life in the woodlands, the grasslands, the cavelands and the riverlands, on the shores of the sea and the sides of the mountains, raised the several great forms of the association he has known; and his gods and goddesses

were like unto them and him. When he went from those early sites to live in cities such as, for example, ancient Eridu or Carnac or Jerusalem or Athens or Rome or Knossos he took himself, the synthesis of the plans of the societies he had dwelt in, and his gods. The myth of these things would acquire some new manners. Just as the hole in the earth, the tent of skin, the circular huts within the stockade, would put on the ordered lines and stabler substance of fitted blocks of stone or marble; so the myth would change its social colour. The gods and the goddesses would change with it and to the same degree. They are spiritual bone of its seven-leagued sense of genealogy. The change wrought in both is a sartorial one. It must follow that the change in the superstructure of human societies issuing from them is as shallow. It is not even skin-deep, since it is only suit-deep. Thus the weightless but lasting substance of the myth retains its power to enthrall us. We do not know of its sway, unless we begin to study, as now we are doing, its natural history. That study causes its inhibitive fascination to flee away. Some folk will ask: why then should it be driven out? The answer is a simple one—that a profounder beauty may take its place. For there is a loveliness about the idea, and a joy in the exercise of the freed brain, as these carry out the consciously creative work of shaping the form of societies to the personalities of human beings and seeking the God who is, that cannot help surpassing what fascination there may be in a myth that was born, let us say, when the glaciers sculptured the valleys of Europe.

Because many of us forgot or did not know the natural history of the myth, we were more than shocked

when it was suggested to us that the Garden of Eden had two gates instead of one. The story said that it had but one; whether we knew it in the style of the early Hebrews, as it is rendered in the *Book of Genesis*; or with touches of the domestic architecture of Tarsus, according to certain of Paul's letters; or in the half-and-half Punic and Neoplatonic style, according to Augustine; or with the Franco-Roman ornament of Poitiers in the early Middle Ages, according to Hilary; or in the later mediæval style of Würtemburg, according to Luther. These all are emphatic there was and could be but one gate. The scholar came; and in his gently patient but disturbing way pointed out that we and those respected authorities were wrong. Or rather it was that brilliant disturber of inert opinion named Discovery which had come, with a sharp call to us that we should awake to the study of the natural history of this myth which has played so large a part in the theologies of Europe.

It was Babylonia that pointed out how there was a second gate in the Garden of Eden. Portions of clay tablets had been found in one and another literary centre—substantial leaves from a book of epic poems which dealt with the beginnings of the world and man. These were the literary sources of the early chapters of the *Book of Genesis*. The Hebrews had borrowed from the Sumerians. In passing from the Hebrew to the Babylonian form of the myth, we may note that one of the biggest reasons for our surprise was that we could no more attribute divine authorship to a primitive resetting of a more primitive poem. The theologies had made no provision for or anticipation of the discovery of libraries in Babylon. They cannot have believed that the compiler of the *Book of Genesis* would read or over-

hear anything. Nor could they, before our time, have conceived the chameleon-like bent of the myth for social colour. The theologies of to-morrow will have to consider such facts if they are to hold the minds of men and women. Now to arrive at what form Eridu gave the myth, we shall have to combine a portion of a clay tablet in Pennsylvania with another in the British Museum. It surely belongs to the romance of things that in the heart of an American city, and in that of this vast city of ours, the voice of Sumerian poets should again awaken into speech. The reason why we must join together these tablets is because the sacred city of Sumer knew at least two versions of the myth. It is not difficult to make out the original whence these two came. For the simple and delicate work of combining their elements to adduce that first form is helped, as we shall see, by the morphological study of other myths about the creation of the world and man.

The Pennsylvanian tablet tells us of the Sumerian kingdom in a time of paradisal peace. Serenest of all, in that serene world of man and Nature, was the sacred garden of Dilmun—a sanctuary of a place that was perhaps in the neighbourhood of the modern town of Basra. There Enki the water-god ruled. He had set Tagtug, who was a king, among the leafy quiet to be its guardian and gardener. Tagtug might eat from and pluck from all the plants and trees in the garden save one. This is said to have been the cassia; though it is to be suspected, for reasons which will be given, that the word is incorrect on the Pennsylvanian tablet, and that some food-bearing tree was mentioned in the earliest form of the myth. Tagtug, like Adam, eats of the forbidden tree. A curse is pronounced on

him: "The face of life (*i.e.* health) shall he not see to the time he dies." He will go where he wills, but as the shadow of a man. Among primitive peoples to-day, it will be remembered, a curse can cause a man to dwindle into pithless life, and even into death. There is no Eve here; no dramatic expulsion from the Garden; and no white fire of the sword that forbids return to the forfeited green peace. These latter novel pendants were to come from the stylus of a theological Assyrian priest who, as we have, had to learn the old Sumerian tongue; and from him, the didactic mind of the Hebrew compiler of the *Book of Genesis* took them and retouched them. But Eve came in another way.

The London fragment knows how. After that the gods had created the world and the animals, Enki formed 'two little children,' says the Sumerian poet. We ought to have seen long ago that the Adam and Eve of the Hebrew form of the myth were originally brother and sister. For if we could not have foreseen the disclosure of a literary source for the *Genesis* story, we should have been aware that Adam's prudery in the presence of Eve, and the most strange issue to their recognition of fundamental human facts, demanded another relationship between them than man and wife. In Eridu the myth was told with its first values. What was intoned in the temples or repeated in the schools is implicit in the phrase that the water-god had made last 'two little children.' We may conclude, then, that in the first form of the myth the Sumerians knew there was a prefatory piece to the account of the garden with the sacred tree; and that this piece had to do with Enki's 'Adam and Eve.' Further that the epic of the garden spoke of the growth of those two children.

The Sumerian gardener, who was a king, had his sister with him for companion. Now the morphological study of Creation myths, which is one of the chief functions of Folklore—therefore a phase of anthropological work—alone can help us to realize that this combination of the two clay tablets is the true guide to the essential point and shape of our myth. The restoration of its original notes is worth more than the late Assyrian and Hebrew moralizations put together.

The Garden of Eden then has a third gate. It opens upon an older world than either of the names Judæa or Babylonia usually connote. There the morphological study of myths is guardian. It is a long name for such a functionary; but it is an exact one. A review of certain of the points we have made already will open up the meaning of that name. The essentials of our myth, as we have found, are these: a man and a woman; a garden; a sacred tree and a broken prohibition. These make up the *morphē* or form of the myth. Two of them, however, have to be confirmed in the possession of some of their values: we have to affirm the food-quality of the tree, and the relationship of the two semi-human actors in the drama of the myth. In other words, we have to select a Creation myth which has these features; and has them in such manner that we can be reasonably certain of their presence in the Sumerian source to the Hebrew version. This does not mean that the selected myth is the source of the epic of the garden known in old Eridu. The third gate opens out upon a world wherein man is making his social structures on a common plan. A myth which can be compared with that we know in the Hebrew and Pauline versions must embody, radically and fittingly,

as its architectural motive, just that order of human society or social structure. Radically, so that we have not to engage in literary dissection to lay bare its plan; fittingly, so that its mythical features, which accompany that plan, shall harmonize with what was once told and chanted in the sacred city of the Sumerians. It must be understood that thus we do not say that this or the other part of the world owes its myth to Babylonia. The study of the morphology of myths is not a means of remaking the prehistoric world on impossible lines. Sumerian and Zuñi Indian myths, for instance, can be brought together only because their social values are alike. The conjunction does not mean that people from the Mesopotamian riverlands trekked across the very old world to that portion we know as North America. Pan-Babylonianism is as much a feat of imagination as *Gulliver's Travels*. But the similarity in those myths does mean that in the history of man as a constructor of societies there were conditions in which, whatever the part of the world, he built them according to the same plan. Since that far-wandering creature, whom we may designate vaguely Earliest Man, left wherever he went certain similar seeds of ideas which blossomed into like social and religious structures.

Among the Pueblo peoples there is none in the northern half of America which has kept intact so much that is primitive, in idea and practice, as the Zuñi Indians. Their traditions have been recorded for us by one of the most gifted anthropologists America has known. Professor Cushing's collection of Zuñi lore has not yet received the attention it merits. We must have the privilege of utilizing a small portion of his work.

The Creation myths of the Zuñis are told in a long flowing narrative. It is an unplanned epic of their mythology. We must not, then, expect it to begin with the first stratum of their life and thought, and afterwards to build up their history—stratum upon stratum—in most orderly fashion. Epical mythology, welling up from a people's memory, is careless of form. The vast geological ages of man's history can jostle one another as well as the year in which he speaks, when a primitive tale-teller recounts the history of a tribe or a continent. When Camoens writes the epic of Portugal, the history of that country moves before us as if the centuries were making sunlit and processional music. The Zuñi maker of epics can know no such art. Therefore, we are able to set aside the myths which go before the one we are bound to select; because there is no difficulty in finding much that is totemic set before what is pre-totemic, and the first form of our myth belongs to that most early period of man's life.

When we reach the parallel to the Garden myth, we find that the epicist is telling how the proto-Zuñis have chosen two of themselves who shall lead them to the land in which they may settle. Their choice falls on a brother and sister named Swelushsiwa and Swihalsitsa. They are both physically beautiful. They go; and the day of their journey grows hot. Before them appears a tree-girt mountain which has to be climbed. So the brother counsels his sister to rest in its shade. He builds her a bower of cedar beneath the branches of a great tree, and says that he will go to find food. On his return he finds Swihalsitsa still asleep; and the gentle wind in toying with her loveliness makes her lovelier. Swelushsiwa is seized with

the passion of desire for her. She wakes to upbraid him. By stamping her foot on the ground she strikes the way of a river between herself and him; and she lengthens its bed as she flees from him. But many waters could not quench their love. From her bank of the river she answers to all his moods; until the day comes when they flee together into the caves hollowed out by the river. There, twelve sexless children are born to them. Do you not now wonder what was the origin of the Hebrew tradition of the twelve tribes?

There can be no doubt that a myth similar to this Zuñi one was known to both the Sumerian and Hebrew epicists. This is plain when we look at the version in the *Book of Genesis*. The myth there is made into a thing for reverence if we know that, on the temporal side, it is a pre-settlement myth; and that, on the social side, Adam is a Hebrew Swelushsiwa and Eve a Hebrew Swihalsitsa. That is to say, its social conditions manifest prehistoric man coming from the practice of promiscuity. It is perhaps a Neolithic tradition. The Sumerian version is grown up enough to say that Enki, the water-god, brings judgment on the two for their anti-social deed; whilst the Hebrew version was more grown up, since what looks like a mask of prudery on the part of Adam is actually a confusion of pre-settlement and settlement conditions of social life. Its nameless tree-god judges them with a form of judgment which could not fit a man and wife. We must see in the *Genesis* narrative a fusion of two strains of the myth, rather than the material from which we can weave the doings of a tree-god into the morality of One who is the perfection of monotheistic theory meting out justice to the two first peccant

creatures of His own creation. The open-eyed commentator on the *Book of Genesis* will set himself to study the Creation myths of the world; and, if he is quite wise, he will begin with the Zuñi tradition. We are not, however, all commentators. That is a matter for thankfulness. For such literature is multitudinous, and gregariously traditional. The interest in the myth of the Garden belongs to us all as human beings; since, especially in the Western world, it has been made the picture of our natural and moral origins.

The finding of a third gate has already disclosed a fourth. Here prehistory stands sentinel. It is imperative that there should be this means of coming to and going from the place of the tree and of social fracture. For the tree could not be girdled with maxims against contact, nor society laws be put into operation which might not be broken, in a thousand years—or about the period between the Sumerian and Hebrew versions of our myths. Man as a social architect works slower than that. Therefore, the construction of the Garden, whose original state late Assyrian and early Hebrew had altered, is a thumb-nail sketch of the achievement of those almost measureless ages we denominate the prehistoric period. The story of that time is being very slowly read. A skull from South Africa; the ornament on a Melanesian paddle; an incised stone in Northumbria; the shape of a rock-grave in Portugal; a mural carving in Norway; the graving on a vase in oldest Bosnia—these and a multitude of other factors are being put together with all the skill that twentieth century science can evince. There is no equal task under the sun. It might put some warm blood into the veins even of the author of Ecclesiastes were he alive to see the denial of the main thesis of his pallid book.

When we pass through this fourth gate, we see the men who were the contemporaries in Europe of the mammoth and the rhinoceros loosely shaping their social groups by propinquity with one another and physical hunger. Prehistoric man was a very hungry and rather inhuman being; he was not a religious prodigy. His small amorphous community thought of its need for food before it stumblingly contrived the alphabet of social order. We do not know how long it was before the hunter became a social architect. The period must have been long enough to make the six thousand years of the ordinary biblical chronology for the history of the world to appear to be an hour in the story of the process of things. What an inhumorous thing was done by that genial and learned Irish student of Patristics, Archbishop Ussher, when he made his astounding chronometrical blunder! It is to be suspected that only a refined sense of history can confer on us an enviably active and reverent faculty of laughter. And how we need just that when we are dealing with the facts concerning ourselves!

Then the discovery of the other gates to the Garden of Eden should be a matter of the utmost importance to us. We have grown; but we grow too little and slowly. We can grow aright only in the sunshine of human laughter. When that is brought to bear on us, we can be sure that we have learned and are learning the history of man in a manner so that we can utilize the wisdom which has been garnered, and add to its stock by new spiritual experiment. But this myth inhibits our vision and imprisons the grace of human laughter. We must examine its inhibitory modes.

The thought of the Western world is enmeshed by

the myth of the Garden. We may, in some senses, be aware of this fact; and are ready to place the responsibility at the door of one or more who have exercised influence in the realm of religion. Paul; Irenæus; Chrysostom; Augustine; Thomas Aquinas; Luther; Calvin—are some of the names which come readily to the mind. When, however, we look critically into the ways of philosophical and social thought, we come upon the more unfamiliar fact that those spheres are also hypnotized by the myth. There are two chief reasons why this is so: 1. The dominance of the Old Testament over the formation of notions concerning God and man; 2. The unrecognized rule of prehistoric man over us. The first reason any intelligent person can discover for himself, if he will examine the authoritative documents of our theologies. The second reason has flung itself at some of us during the past ten years of retrogression in Europe. But as to the majority of us, we are still unawake to the thwarter of our development as human beings and our achievement of humane forms of society. For a law governs our ideas of these supreme matters. It is this: our conception, let us say of ourselves or of the world, is and does only what its traditional connotations allow. It has always been so. Irenæus may be a bishop in Lyon and use Greek which bristles with terms from Hellenistic philosophy; but when he takes over the myth of the Garden, and explains it to us in that Greek, he has not one whit altered the prehistory of it—that fixed traditional connotation. He has not brought thought or the nature of man a step upwards in clarity of understanding or luminous explanation; nor given it, if he could, the outlook of a social community that had moved on and out of the tiny Hebrew world in the far eastern end of

the Mediterranean. He was held to the prehistoric connotations in the myth by the dual influence of his Hellenism and the Old Testament. Let us illustrate these critical points by means of others upon whom we put the burden for our anti-social conceptions of man and ourselves. Augustine was an African bishop and used Latin, the language of the contemporary world of culture and government. His mind was Neoplatonic; and something in him was Pauline—but according to his own way with that great missionary. That way in him was blended of a feeling for the supposed dualism in himself and a physical enjoyment of repentance. Their interplay in him had a surpassing Tolstoyan ferocity. Paul is deformed into an Augustine who is always outside the Garden with one gate; and Plotinus is powerless to drive out the pre-totemic significances from the man and teacher who stands there. A well-known mediævalist has claimed that Augustine's classical book *De Civitate Dei* set the Middle Age its noblest task—that of attempting to realize the city planned by the bishop of Hippo. There is a sense in which this judgment is true. Spiritual aims—even perverse ones—do ennoble the efforts of men. If a supernal city is but the contrast to pre-historic man and his world—and if, Plotinus notwithstanding, a God is made in likeness of the man who conceives that city—an anthropologist may ask whether the effort credited to the Middle Age was not the greatest triumph prehistoric man has won. Again, man and the Garden were not made new because Calvin put a wall of Genevan Gothic about them; nor were they changed because Luther translated them into German. Even so, prehistoric man is regnant in to-day's Paris or London or New York. Since Jean Jacques Rousseau

is he wrapped in clouds of sentimentality; or Dean Inge is he, though he knows more Plotinus than Augustine and has invoked the aid of Eugenics to give him a healthier body; or Mr. Bryan is he, in the downright manner of one who will have no commerce with Charles Darwin.

There are many men and women who are trying to gain freedom from the hypnotic powers of the myth. These have to be warned against its subtle manners of re-enthronement unto power. From the beginning of the present century Germany and Austria, for instance, have produced a succession of books of an apologetical type which attempts to yoke together, most unequally, the scientific study of the early world and the theologically informed pages of the Old Testament. The latter possesses, according to these theologians, peculiar and immediate values of divine revelation. Therefore, its yoke-fellow must have been the vehicle of a prefatory revelation. The latest writer on this subject is an Austrian professor, Franz Rauch, and the title of his book *Die Uroffenbarung* (1924; see especially pages 23ff. and 94ff.) is a sufficient indication of the lines of his argument. To take up once more the language of the discovery of gates in the Garden myth —this argument involves an architectural plan and upbuilding of the world of man. Evolution becomes an architectonic with a bricklayer's faculty for setting stratum upon stratum in the upward apprehension of religious ideas and social institutions. Evolution is careless towards tidiness. Nature, moreover, is not a gigantic relative of Mrs. Partington. She knows no cult of the broom. Nor has she ever dreamt of raising her sanctuary of the earth pantry-wise—with uncooked things on the stone floor and many coloured injellied

meats and fruits on the glistening tiers of shelves one above the other. Further, any theology vainly tries to make a tree-god in *Genesis* to be the God seen by Hosea, for instance, to whom the deeds of gently reverent life alone were the ritual offerings He required. The ethical genius of Hosea was not the outcome of steady development. His vision gains its beauty, and one of its creative factors, from the contrasted sorts of gods his fellows were worshipping. When we go through, as we must, the gate in the Garden which opens beyond the tree-god to the ages of earlier man, it surely is outside the reach of sane thought that the more crude and sanguinary practices of prehistoric man should be conceived of as being informed with a divine revelation suited to the comprehension of the undated ages. The twentieth century apologetical effort, unto which reference has been made, reasserts ancient inhibitions to thought in more powerful, because more subtle, fashion than the older apologetic. What the documents of man's history, which the earth is yielding increasingly to us, cannot asseverate concerning him, that a heterogeneous collection of writings, threaded together and informed wholly by a foreign theological and literary valuation, cannot authorize those documents to state. If Anthropology is made to give its guarantee to, and to shape its conclusions after, the systemization of the questionless assertions of an unexaminable literature, then prehistoric man and his social ethic become deathless. The hypnosis of the myth will never be lifted from the mind of man.

There are other men and women who are ready to protest that they are unrelated to our ubiquitous contemporary. The official creeds of Europe are all

deprecated by them. The Old Testament is put on a shelf with the work of Confucius and the Gathas of Zoroaster. Do they realize that Vedic and Buddhistic and Koranic literature are also highways for prehistoric man? When India is India and Arabia is Arabia—when the mind of either of these countries is actually enthralled in the practice of its primitive teaching—we must know that, for instance, as to the type of social thought engendered, it is as if the Garden known in Eridu had been moved to be under an Indian sky or near to the Persian Gulf. It can, and has, as easily come to London, or cross the Atlantic. Indeed, it has no need to go over the ocean; for the Zuñi epicist reminds us that it is already and primevally there. This cardinal psychological realization is not all. None of us can deny that being alive we are in the present social world. We think its thoughts; we make our contributions to its social inventions. What is the plan of our views of small and big societies? It is the ancient plan in the figure of a man. There are those in the tiny or large societies who are fit to be heads; others are suitable to be certain of the faculties and functions on a descending scale; and the mass of folk can be nothing more than the feet. And at this juncture it must be said that the ancient plan is not destroyed by turning it upside down, as is proposed by those who call themselves advanced politicians or economists. The man which that plan connotes remains the same; even if he is put into an exceedingly uncomfortable position. We were taught this plan not only by theologians who had also to append the social thinkers in varying sorts to their theologies—such as Luther; Calvin; John of Salisbury; Thomas Aquinas; Nicholas of Cusa, and Augustine.

Lest we should thrust aside such teachers as not being our own, we ought to remind ourselves that Plato was the co-operative tutor with the *Book of Genesis* to those theologians. The Platonic myth of human society in the figure of a man is like the Hebrew myth of the Garden, when it is analyzed with anthropological candour. A man is where he is because the Platonic or Hebrew view of a primitive god has made him so. And neither the Greek nor Hebrew concept of a god can deliver us from the hypnosis of prehistoric man and his social arrangements. We are, of course, thinking in the terms of the fundamental ideas of society; and not in such terms as would permit us to contrast London or Edinburgh with the first sketch of a town on the banks of the Euphrates. When we place ourselves there—with those fundamental ideas and that omnipresent Ahriman, prehistoric man—we can measure the task that is ours as men and women who ought to claim the proper right to live and serve. The new Reformation, which shall co-ordinate our religious and social ideas, is prepared for where men and women set themselves to become conscious of our ages-old contemporary, and to cause his extrusion from themselves and the social or extensive expression of their personalities. The discovery of the other gates in the material of official theologies and sociologies, which give back and back into the prehistory of man, will be as a schoolmaster to lead us unto the art of building human societies whose foundations, walls and intercommunicating parts with other societies throughout the world shall be upon the plan of the values and inter-operations of human personalities. We shall not be inhibited by what was long ago in the history of man and commanded to

restore most primitive social and religious institutions as the final supra-mundane achievement of thought and life; but we shall be at liberty at last to build cities of God in which there is fragrant peace, as there is in wonderful gardens, for human social beings shall dwell in them.

VACHER BURCH.

(Read at an Open Meeting of the Quest Society, April 30, 1925.)

THE VISION AND THE UNION.

ARTHUR EDWARD WAITE.

I OPEN this study of quest and its note on an inward finding as one speaking to others in a state of quiet contemplation. "There are hills beyond Pentland and lands beyond Forth"; it is far from this city of ours to the realm that is called Cathay, but the great table-lands and bleak heights are above it; and if some of us have stood, if a few of us dwell perchance, on a figurative peak in Darien, there is a more spiritual Mountain of Ascension which rises high uplifted; there is a flight also through the mystical distance which is other than all earthly travelling with wings or planes; and there is a sea over which some have adventured—who knows how far?—*vastissimum divinitatis pelagus*—and it cannot be crossed by ships, however they sail or steam. But after all the journeyings, the activities of to and fro, there is a state of pure being to be found at the end of quest, when this is of a certain kind: a state, if it lasts, an end, so long as we abide therein, where time ceases, understood as the measure of activities and the change they bring, where distance endures no longer, because it is the mental postulate of space between objects. We are then in the mode of eternity, and there is no distinction between object and subject: it has been said of it that "all things which belong to love have been made one in the heart of love."

It is of this state that I would ask you to think

with me a little, when the summer of the world about us is like a summer of the world within; and though I must read to you concerning it within the city and its walls, that which is here set down is being written where the lapping waves of stream and river lisp intelligible voices, where hours on earth are like unto hours in Faërie, even song of Nature in Faërie, amidst strange vespers and complines. The procession of thought is like the passing of leading lamps through woodland mazes. You should know this, lest it be supposed that I am offering a formal treatise, following a method in the mind, and not intimations as they come from their native source: it is not unlike what our beloved Mother Julian called "the shewing of a vision," though it is of union more than vision, if the soul's quest of a wandering voice can pass beyond the one to attain the other, can pass beyond enchanted waters of all seeing and the dreams of an isle of rest to where the utter stillness is also the great activity. All outward quests are quests in God, though this is known by few; but there is the stillness, with its voice, of that which is followed within, when the manifested state of the soul, which is the end of our earthly manhood, has become the state of hiddenness.

Now, the ways of the spirit are ever the ways of love, when it has lost the body of desire and abides in the soul thereof, and because of this—as you know—Dante passed into the state of his immortal vision through the eyes of Beatrice and it came about that he beheld the Rose of Heaven.

> "In fashion as a snow-white Rose lay then
> Before my view the saintly multitude."

There is, however, a deeper state, which the

Paradiso does not reach, beyond the sense of multitude, 'the stedfast dwelling of their joy,' the imagery of hosts which 'celebrate' the Christ of Glory, the symbolism of trooping bees clustering about a mighty flower or rising from its 'redundant petals'; and in this state Dante would have become the Rose. Herein lies a clear distinction between the vision and the union. The Rose of Dante is contemplated from between the pillars of hither and thither: it must and will be so while Beatrice is without; while the communion of saints is an intercourse of people met together in the mode of their personality; while the incarnate Master is our Brother Jesus of Nazareth instead of the inward Christ Mystical; while God is understood in reason, the First Cause, Creator of heaven and earth—whatsoever you please and will—but not the Living Reality which is found and known in the heart. So long then as we are in the external appreciation of Divine things, seeing and understanding by the logical mind, we are in the state of vision, whether it be that of Dante or the Beatific Vision of St. Thomas Aquinas. Beyond these there is the mystical state, in which it has been found by experience that there is a way into deeper knowledge, direct and not reflective, by inward seeking through the soul's own being, rather than through ways without. The known is in the heart of the knower; the knowable is also there.

The experience of this mode answers at first to the Practice of the Presence of God, which some of us have learned from simple souls like Brother Lawrence, who may have never dreamed that he taught on a threshold of mastery concerning the Inward Way, but some of us from other and more elaborate itineraries

of spiritual life. Some of us again have learned it—I mean the making of a good beginning in this hidden path—and perhaps of all most deeply, from no external teacher, by word of mouth or in writing, but chiefly after another manner. It is one which calls for delineation in brief words because it is in the heart of the subject, and not merely because that which has helped one may often help another and may be also not without moment, even as an extract from the note-book or diary of an individual soul.

But it must be understood in the first place that if there are any who can be their own teachers, in this region of experience, I have not met with them on the path which leads to reality. It is otherwise with the makers of systems, the great expositors of historical systems and the lords of doctrine; but hereof are the ways of thought working through logical processes. We have followed these subtle ways; we have built up—it may be—our own systems with the manifold symbols of the mind. I have loved them from the beginning and all their devious paths. I know also that they lead, according to the measures of intellectual life, if it be only by shewing at the end that there is given a way of escape for some at least whose records remain among us. But they are like *Chesed* and *Geburah* in the Tree of Life in Kabalism, concerning which it is said in the suggestive miscellany of *The Zohar* that they remain in their respective positions and do not go up in the Tree, the reason being that they belong to the notion of opposites and the pairs of these. Their part is not in the Supernals, though the latter reflect therein, because grace and its light are everywhere. They are poured into the rational mind, which does its work thereby: otherwise all our systems

would be dark stars indeed. But that which leads to reality does not belong to systems: cogitation and ex-cogitation cannot take us there, and there is thus a very true sense in which no one is his own teacher who follows the mystic path.

It is necessary to make this clear on my own part, because it leaves no opportunity for the offices of mental pride, as if anyone—and above all I—should attempt an arrogation to himself of something which has been achieved by his mind; that he has a seat on an intellectual throne; that he may testify and rule therefrom on the validity of his own warrants. In the last resource no one is taught at all until he is taught of the spirit—that is to say, on the path of reality—and because it may be that no one receives his schooling in quite the same way, it seems worth while to pick up some parts or fragments from lessons conveyed in experience to one pilgrim of the eternal. And it happens to be one who has dwelt in his day of life among 'doctors and saints,' who has heard all the arguments, the great debates of all, but has come out with Omar by the same door, which was that of his entrance into worshipful halls of learning, and has looked for another path, another and more stable refuge, where the voices of affirmation and denial are heard no longer.

Now, I have likened inspirations from the magnalian font of outward Nature to a water of all-seeing; and if, rather of necessity than as one who follows a line of least resistance, I have recourse again to images, while attempting to speak of a state which looks beyond them, let it be understood that there is a well of not-seeing within us—or some of us at least, shall I say? The intimations of reality come to us

therein, apart from pictures, apart at least in glimpses, or just in so far as we can baffle the insistent interventions of active thought, bent on examination and sifting, on counting up the values. If and when we have learned to live in this state at will, we are in another mode of knowledge, no longer amidst mere intimations and in the granting of occasional glimpses. You should know of course that the soul is its own well, and it is otherwise—perhaps in some better form of symbolism—a very holy temple, in which there is a living silence, the kind of silence which seems on the threshold of speech. It is a little like a bird-sanctuary when all the wings are still, the songs all hushed and the winds not even breathing. Such a sanctuary may break at any moment into radiant storm of song. But the kind of silence in the soul's temple is a wordless gospel, since that which comes therein is not after the manner of speech—I mean, our speech on earth—for in this the silence is broken and in that it deepens.

It was said of old that the Spirit doth breathe where it listeth, like winds of heaven, and hereof is the manner of its teaching. This is surely the way of the Scholar Gipsy, who waited for "the spark from heaven to fall." But Joseph Glanvil did not help his later poet to make an end of that story. Given the right kind of waiting, it is beyond question that the spark does fall, and that which follows thereafter comes in its own authentic name, without let or hindrance, without evasion, equivocation or mental reservation of any kind. But the kind of waiting could not have been told by Arnold, and the author of *The Vanity of Dogmatising* had no message thereon, though he wrote on *Lux Orientalis* for the justification of the ways of God to man, generations before there were 'light half-

believers of our casual creeds.' At the poles asunder from the Scholar Gipsy, in his assured expectation of awakened faculties, looking for 'heaven-sent moments' and meanwhile 'nursing the unconquerable hope,' is Empedocles on Etna—as understood by the same poet—seeking no spark from heaven, but a refuge—anywhere, anywhere, if only it might be found—for 'the master part of us.'

"But mind, but thought . . . .
What shall receive *them*, who will call *them* home?
But we shall still be in them, and they in us . . . .
And they will be our lords, as they are now;
And keep us prisoners of our consciousness,
And never let us clasp and feel the All
But through their forms and modes and stifling veils.
And we shall be unsatisfied as now,
The ineffable longing for the life of life
Baffled for ever."

But because Arnold himself did not know that a way of liberation has been found by some from the reaction of consciousness to the appeal of surface things, or that there is a word of the silence which does not divide the silence within the soul, and can put the thoughts to rest, he cast Empedocles into Etna as an only way of escape. And Callicles sang thereafter his song of the triumph of Nature, the joy of the heart therein, and the morning dawn in glory on youth of being.

Do you know what it is to feel an openness of all the channels, though it could not be put into words? It is the state in which the spark falls and the free light descends. But that wherein it is received is a state or mode of the soul which does not belong to

the manifest side of the self-hood. That side, as it seems to me, does not open the channels through which reality communicates, and the reason that it receives nothing is because of its claim on all. There is, however, another and more inward nature of ours which—as I understand it—is in that mode which corresponds to the 'open vision' of the prophet. If you like, it is our own otherness, which belongs to the eternal, while the self in manifestation is within measures of time. But when the veils were off him, the inward state of reality was more truly called THIS by Saint-Martin, and the outer self was THAT.

It must not be thought that I am telling the beads in a long rosary of metaphysical dogmas: my intent is to unfold in humility of heart how it fares with the quest of reality in certain individual cases, when the material mind has suspended its normal functions and has let the world go by, with all its toilsome quests. I have intimated, and you may know otherwise—a few among you or many—that I have followed the paths of research through many decades of intellectual and literary life. They can lead into rational certitude on points of fact, to personal conclusions on problems of mind and so forth—I am not speaking of physical science—but when a day comes that the only need is God, it is not after this manner that He is found. In another sense than that of research, there is something to be done by ourselves which only ourselves can do: it is to learn what it is to be still and to realize God in the stillness. There may seem nothing so simple in the wide world of endeavour than to cease from all endeavouring and maintain an inward calm; but there is sometimes nothing more difficult. It is exceedingly hard to cast out all the images which arrive through

channels of sense and reduce those of the mind to a least and vanishing point. It is hard, moreover, because the call of this path and the hope thereof arrive for most of us in our weariness, after long dwelling in the other ways and the bitterness of many failures when, one upon another, they do not prove to lead.

In reality, however, it is a call of love, a counsel thereto and thereon, and those who can receive an affirmation put thus unconditionally may be saved many years of vain adventures, like the hard adventurous times of Arthurian story which reached their term in another kind of quest, being that of the Holy Graal. Be it said therefore and accepted that for us in this matter there is, from *Aleph* to *Tau*, no way of the soul but love; and in respect of love, the desire of the heart and the eyes is not in the storm or the thunder but in the still small voice. And if it be a question where that voice speaks, the answer will be that it is to and within the deep heart of longing. Those who can hear it speaking are on the threshold of union, beyond the realm of vision. It speaks, however, in awakening and not in words, and this is why the state translates so badly and into such halting terms of language. On its own part and after its own great manner it tells the whole story. If you look by preference for another form of symbols, the soul which hears is in a state of direct vision, apart from all the pictures: the soul in its own mind sees and knows in the seeing. There is no debate hereafter 'about it and about.'

The condition of awakening is forgetting, and this is a mode of love. It has been said by a great poet that "our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting"; but

the kind of birth is into the life of the self manifest on the personal side, and this self is that which has to be forgotten if we would awaken and find reality. It is more love and fuller that we want, to forget the self. In this direction, for us at least, it seems to me that the old formulas and the old processes—as I have intimated elsewhere and long since—are of little or no effect. The work in hand is not to be done by denial, it is not helped by scourging, it is not of fasting or that which is called contempt and hatred visited on the physical body or the material mind, the only parts of us which can be reached by ascetic methods. It is love which leads to forgetting, and this is by the realization of its own subject inwardly. Hence also it has nothing to tell us concerning our 'life's star' or its setting, of the soul coming from afar and being swallowed up in the 'light of common day.' All these things are true, but they are not of that which I have termed the work in hand, as if we should profit therein by counting up past incarnations.

There is a great and pregnant truth of another and very great poet, who said that "in our life alone does Nature live"; for in so far as it lives outside us, and beyond our ken, it has no part in us, nor do we have part therein. But the truth that is greater and the truth of all most pregnant is that in our life alone does God live for us, not indeed that He who is immanent is not also transcendent, without as well as within, but He is not of our immediate concern beyond us and apart, alone within, far past the cortices of self. Now, He is not within us personally, as if another and more excellent cohabitant or interdwelling self. He is that which remains when the ego or egoity has been put to rest: He is that which remains

when the sense of separation dies, and it dies in love only. But the kind of death is not without resurrection, for we come back from this state. We come back in the knowledge thereof, and all the world is changed, the dedications of life therein and the work committed to our charge. *Sacramentum ineffabile* is written over the whole cosmos, and joy is too deep, alike for tears or words, though the approximations of language come, that we may bear our faithful witness. The day of doctrine is over, because we have been taught of the Spirit. There is a new test of values, and the old problems have been taken out of the way. It is not that we have solved the riddles raised or left over by —shall I say?—Hegel or Einstein; that we have a critique of purer reason; that we have counter-theses in respect of Schopenhauer if we happen to disagree intellectually with his philosophy of the unconscious. It is none of these things. But above all we are in no state of superiority to the speculative systems and their makers. We have entered into another mode of being, and in the light of that which is brought back, the evidences—shall I cite?—of teleology, the factors—old and new—in the historicity question have passed beyond our scope; but they remain at their old values for those to whom they belong, like the mystery—if it is a mystery—of Trinity in Unity or the affirmed distinction between a Real Presence in the Eucharist and the dogma of transubstantiation.

There is a state of the stillness which does not belong to ecstasy, in which we realize the Divine within us, in truth not ourselves in the personal sense of self and yet of our very being. To come back into the self-sense after such an experience does more, I think, to make void the native pride and sufficiency of our

normal humanity than perhaps any other experience in the wide world. It is worth while to mention this because of the bearing—

Lofty and passionless as date-palm's bride—

which Philip James Bailey applies to his mystic, and lest anyone should think that he who has found God at his own centre is henceforward a kind of Zanoni, or in other gew-gaw trappings of occult pseudo-mastery which were flaunted before us in nineteenth century novels, and in false theosophies that reflected the spirit of these. We do not take our seat, either in dejection or in triumph, on the intellectual throne of Arnold, or emerge like Manfred after he had evoked his dubious elemental choirs. A spirit of humility and a contrite heart were brought by Ruysbroeck from his soul-voyage over the eternal sea, not the parade of adeptship ascribed to the postulated masters in whom some of us placed our faith when we dwelt in cities of myth.

I have spoken of God at our centre, of a still and deep intentness in which love attains or rather becomes reality, as an inmost abiding God. Is this strange language to anyone, as if the finding of God should be pursued more simply and fulfilled sooner in other regions of the world of being? Whither indeed should we turn and where of all beside expect to look? It must be the only way, seeing that at the last end it is we and no other who find. We are not on the quest of a throned king in the outward who rules some hidden city in a land that is very far away, and yet on this earth of ours. And we are not seeking to trace God in what is called the work of His hands. This also is a great adventure and sacred. The Psalmist testifies concerning it with inspiration in all his words: "If

I go up into heaven, thou art there; if I descend into the abyss, thou art there also." But the kind of quest is outward, and to keep our issues clear we must make no mistake hereon. The wings which we take in the morning on flights like these are those of the thinking mind, however closely wedded to authentic dream of heart. They have their own reward, for high intimations are found everywhere in these outward excursions. The testimony comes at times in organ-tones, and the messages are very clear, since it has been said that the veil is thin. Blessed are those who know how to listen, for they shall not fail to hear, or hearing to understand in part. There is a certain true experience of the soul which comes after this manner. It is also the way of the poet and tells us something at a distance of what God is and man also—man, the witness of the ages to God known of the heart, and for us the one witness who stands forth as such in evidence, though there may be ten thousand times ten thousand among the choirs of being.

But when it has been said that God is known of the heart, there has been affirmed that there is another way, and it is not a way of intimations, like the testimony of the outside world, but of knowledge, since all knowledge is within and grows from small beginnings to plenary ends. Moreover, it is within only that we know the world without; and when it speaks to us of God it is within us that we receive the messages. But—further even than this—it is we only who awaken speech in the world; it is we who question and we who read the answers. The speech of Nature is wordless until we give it utterance, and in this respect it is like the silence and its messages in the soul's own sanctuary, for they find their voice in us.

It is we who search into the vibrant heart of the greater world and find its gospel tidings, as we look into our own hearts, the heart within the soul, and read and hear.

I am trying, awkwardly enough, to bear true witness with the materials put into our hands, the language-symbols. We know that what is called revelation is that which wells up in the mind or comes down, if you like, therein, even as the Scholar Gipsy's spark from heaven. But if we think for a little, we shall realize that it comes not from anything conceived as outward to something understood as within, though the inward voice is often enough a reaction to impetus from things without. When the mind contemplates through physical eyes the external heaven, there is no question that an exaltation follows; but if the spark should fall at this moment, according to our manner of speaking, it is not descending from planet or milky way, from a Rosicrucian new star in Cassiopeia or even the star of Bethlehem. We must set aside also the allegorical star of destiny, which was that of Napoleon, and regretfully—but, I think, certainly—that of Robert Browning, although it had opened its soul. These things are in part pretexts and in part of the psychic world, with its making of many images. The only heaven with which we are in fine concerned is that of the heaven within us, and this leads us to realize that in any valid sense there is neither below nor above in things belonging to the soul. It is not a world extended through measures of dimensions: there is no zenith exalted in space and there is no nadir. These are also a part of the images and belong to the inevitable and unescapeable symbolism of external life. May I say that this is realized by those who have

entered into that mode which for want of more intelligible words I have called a state of pure being?

The conclusion is—and there is obviously the witness of all human history—that there is no revelation of God except through us as channels. It is we who go up into heaven, to find Him there; it is we who descend into hell on the same research; it is we who take wings in the morning to the uttermost parts of the sea. It is we in fine who still the heart and mind and wait on revelation in the silence. When it comes, and come it does, it is we also who hear; and when it speaks within us it is we ourselves who speak, from that first moment onward when it forms in words: all words are those of man. Behind it and within us lies the as yet unuttered deep, the being beyond our being. It is in the sense of this that we say and feel that we have found God within. There is no other God for our knowledge but He who is so found, so known and realized. The hand of God in history is of our own shaping, and none but we can trace it.

But on our surface there is that froth of the manifest, fluidic self-personality, which is you and I and the others in the enchanted Kingdom of Logres that we call daily life and the world about us, in the sorcery of things as they are. But we feel and know that it is not the self of our reality, though it is the response of our proper being, its reaction to things without us. Below it or beyond there is the unexplored deep within, which itself has no manifest reaction to that range of our being which is embraced by consciousness, and hence Saint-Martin says that the centre gives up no form. The explanation lies, however, in the word unexplored. The deep is open to exploration and hence responds thereto, and this takes place in

proportion as we are able to live inwardly, in the sense and love of its vastness. The deep answers to love by that kind of reaction which is comprised in the word realization. But—in proportion as explored—it is always our deep and no other, and in the sense of it God is within. The finding of God is a discovery of our own being; and God is All in all because He is our catholic root—our font, our source, our spring. The way of the union, which is beyond all the vision, is the way of research in that something which at first seems not ourselves and is said by Arnold to make for righteousness. But as the deep opens and we abide therein it is found and known as ours, an immanent Divine within us, the life in which is St. Monica's life in God and her union there with all that belongs to the union.

I suppose that philosophical pantheism is still held up to horror by the beloved orthodoxies which have mis-read the symbols put into their hands through eighteen weary centuries; and if they could be at the pains of denouncing a humble pilgrim of eternity, carrying staff and scrip through the Church of Inward Contemplation—its nave and aisles and transepts—waiting till chancel-gates shall set open the inmost sanctuary, they might well enough denounce me as one who, in the terminology of papal allocutions, identifies the universe with God. But the universe of theology —as it seems to me—is a mighty little thing, while that of which I conceive is without beginning or end; and for ever and everywhere—without, within—God is All in all, the *terminus a quo* and also *terminus ad quem*, which corresponds to us as personality and we correspond to It as we are divested of our surface personal part. In the deep below the deep or height beyond the height there is a silence in the mouth of

the Almighty One which speaks without words to the soul, and a state which follows thereon, for that which listens within us is a stillness that answers to stillness; and in this state there is no distinction between the soul and the Holy One. *Centrum Naturæ Concentratum:* that centre draws us back. Say and seal therefore. I invite you to say in your hearts that which I utter with my lips, this only and ever this: Thanks be to God for the Union. *Valete, Fratres.*

A. E. WAITE.

(Read before the Quest Society, June 11, 1925.)

THE SAGA OF THE BODY OF ADAM.

THE EDITOR.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THERE is a Christian epic *midrash*, as the Rabbis would call it, of the Eastern Church, which works over the familiar chief events of biblical story. It is called in Syriac *Ma'arath Gazzē*, or *The Cave of the Treasures*, from one of its main legendary incidents. The Syriac is the earliest form, yet known, in which it has been preserved; but there are variant versions in Arabic and Ethiopic. The MSS. in all three languages contain important variants, and the 'versions' largely paraphrase, reject or add at their own sweet will. Nevertheless it is clear that substantively the Arabic depends from the Syriac, and the Ethiopic from the Arabic.[1] This elaborate oriental apocryphon has never circulated in the West; indeed even to-day there are few outside the narrow circle of scholars who have any acquaintance with it. I propose, therefore, to follow out a certain main clue that threads through its labyrinthine passages, and will call this *Leitmotiv* 'The Saga of

[1] Carl Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle aus den syrischen Texte dreier unedirten Handschriften in's Deutsch übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen.* Leipzig, 1883.

A. Dillmann, *Das christliche Adambuch des Morgenlandes, aus dem Äthiopischen mit Bemerkungen übersetzt.* Göttingen, 1853.

S. C. Malan, *The Book of Adam and Eve: also called The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan. A Book of the Early Christian Church, translated from the Ethiopic, with Notes from the Kufale, Talmud, Midrashim and other Eastern Works.* London, 1882. (Referred to as E.)

M. D. Gibson, *Kitab al Magāll or the Book of the Rolls.* (*Studia Sinaitica*, No. VIII. *Apochrypha Arabica*). London, 1901. (Referred to as A.)

E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Bee: The Syriac Text edited from the Manuscripts in London, Oxford and Munich, with an English Translation.* (*Anecdota Oxoniensia.* Semitic Series, Vol. I. Pt. II.) Oxford, 1886.

The author of 'the book of gleanings called The Bee' was the Nestorian bishop Shĕlêmôn (Solomon), who was Metropolitan of Baṣra in 1222. Though one of the sources of this late work of excerpts was indubitably *The Cave of the Treasures*, there is no reference in it to our Saga except in c. xxi. (p. 35), where, in connection with the story of Melchizedek, we read: "When Noah died, he commanded Shem concerning the bones of Adam, for they were with them in the ark, and were removed from the land of Eden to this earth."

the Body of Adam.' To do this within reasonable length, I shall have to omit much that is otherwise of interest, and even then I shall have largely to summarize.[1] In Englishing these excerpts I use the German version from the Syriac, the only modern one which exists. This will, I hope, be of service; and at any rate it is a novelty. The present paper will give the Saga alone without comment. Readers thus can sit back comfortably in their chairs, and let the ancient epicist beguile them, with the minimum of exertion on their own part. In a subsequent paper, however, I hope to make some remarks which may perhaps induce them to sit up and pay more attention to this pious romance of bygone days. But first it is necessary to know, and know without distraction, what we propose to talk about. And so to the ancient story.

The Saga.

The Fashioning of Adam's Miraculous Body.

Now the fashioning of Adam was on this wise (p. 3). On the sixth day, which is Friday, in the first hour, when calm reigned o'er all the orders of the Powers, God spake: "Come! Let us make Man after our image and our likeness!" ... ...[2] And when the Angels heard this word, they were in fear and trembling, saying one to the other: "A great marvel is shown us to-day,—the form of God our Maker." And they saw the right hand of God, how it opened out and spread forth over the whole world. And all the creatures were gathered in the palm of his right hand. And they saw how he took from the whole earth a grain of dust, and from the whole nature of water a drop of water, and from all the air that is above [the water] a pufflet of wind, and from all the

[1] The summaries and less important passages are printed in smaller type. I have also added sub-headings which are not in the original text.

[2] The use of the plural is here glossed as referring to the Trinity.

nature of fire a tiny warmth of heat. And the Angels saw how the[se] four weak elements,—to wit, cold, heat, dryness and moisture,—lay in the hollow of his hand. And then God fashioned Adam. . . . . .

And when the Angels beheld his glorious looks, they were impassioned at the beauty of his appearance; for they saw the pattern of his face, while it was lit up in splendrous glory like to the orb of the sun, and the light of his eyes as the sun [itself] (p. 4), and the form of his body like the light of crystal. And he [A.] stretched himself forth and stood in the middle of the earth, and set his two feet upon the spot, just where the Cross of our Redeemer was set up; for that Adam was made in Jerusalem.

And there he put on the robe of kingship, and the crown of splendour was set on his head. And there was he made king and priest and prophet; and there did God set him on the throne of his glory. There too God gave him sovranty over all creatures. And all the wild beasts and the cattle and the birds gathered together and came before Adam. And he gave them names; and they bowed their heads before him, and all their natures worshipped him and served him. . . . . .

The Rebel Angel Chief.

And on this the Angels did likewise, save only the chief of the lower orders of them. It was through envy that Satan refused to pay homage to Adam on the ground that he himself was made of fire and spirit, while Adam was fashioned only from a grain of dust.

Such was the plea the Rebel brought forward. And he was disobedient, and through his self-will and his freedom cut himself off from God. And he was hurled down and fell,—he and his whole host. His fall

from heaven took place on the sixth day in the second hour. And the robes of their glory were stripped from them. . . . . And lo! from that very day until now are they,—he and all his armies,—despoiled and naked and hateful to see. And when Satan was hurled down from heaven, then was Adam raised up on high, so that he ascended to Paradise (p. 5) in a fiery chariot. And whilst the Angels sang hymns of praise before him, and the Seraphim sanctified him, and the Cherubim blessed him, Adam 'midst songs of jubilation and laud mounted on high into Paradise. . . . In the third hour, on Friday, his ascension to Paradise took place.

The Fall.

On Adam's arrival in Paradise the proscription of the Tree is pronounced; thereafter Eve is made from a rib taken from Adam in deep sleep.

And Adam and Eve were in Paradise clad in glory and radiant in splendour for three hours. Now Paradise was raised aloft and overtopped all the high mountains [of the earth] by some three spans, according to the measure of the Spirit; it surrounded the whole earth.[1] The Tree in the midst of Paradise (p. 6) is a type of the Cross,[2] which is really the Tree of Life, and was set up in the middle of the earth.

Then follows the story of Eve's temptation by the Rebel Chief. Satan hides his ugliness, which would have frightened Eve, in the beautiful form of the Serpent, who is a marvellous

[1] A. p. 7: The site of Paradise was high up in the air; its ground was heavenly, raised above all mountains and hills, that were thirty spans high, that is fifteen cubits, according to the cubit of the Holy Ghost. (The notion is that of concentric circular mountain-chains, as in old Babylonian and Indian cosmology.)

[2] A. p. 8: The Tree . . . was the form of the Cross, which was stretched upon it.

creature of light,[1] possessed of the power of reflecting in his stilled radiance, as in a mirror, the image of all who approached him. So Eve thought she was speaking with one as fair as herself. She listens to the evil counsel of the obsessor, plucks the forbidden fruit and eats.

And straightway her shame[2] was naked, and she saw the hatefulness of her nakedness; and she ran away naked and hid herself in a tree, and covered her nakedness with the leaves of this tree. Then she calls Adam, and Adam also eats and his shame in like manner becomes naked.

And they made them coverings of the leaves of the fig-trees; and they were clothed with the aprons of disgrace for three hours. It was at mid-day that they received the decree of judgment. And God made them garments of skin (p. 7) stripped from the trees,—to wit, the bark of the trees; for on the trees of Paradise was delicate bark, softer than linen and royal robes of silk. And he clothed them with this skin, which forms a garment round the body of suffering. In the third hour they entered Paradise, and three hours long was their shame naked, and in the ninth hour their departure from Paradise befell.

The Primal Revelation.

And after they had gone forth from Paradise in grief, God conversed with Adam, comforted him and spake: "Fret not thyself, O Adam, for I will restore thy inheritance. See how great is my love for thee! I have cursed the Earth for thy sake [!]; but thee have I freed from the curse. And as for the Serpent, I have

[1] A. p. 8: . . . the most beautiful of the animals, and its nature was above the nature of the camel. (Rabbinic *agada* will have it that the original Satanic *camouflage* was the camel—? the okapi Set-Typhon symbol.)

[2] Presumably her 'body of shame,' that is inner body of 'flesh' thus stripped or naked of the light of glory.

enclosed his feet in his body, and given him the dust of the earth for food, and set Eve under the yoke of subjection. And now, since thou hast transgressed my command, go forth! [But,] on the completion of those times which I have ordained for you, that ye be strangers without in the world of the curse, lo! I will send my Son; and he will descend for thy redemption, and will sojourn in a virgin, and will put on a body; and through him thy redemption and return will be accomplished.[1] But charge thy children and say unto them, that after thy death they shall embalm thy body with myrrh, cassia and incense, and shall lay it in the Cave wherein I let you dwell from to-day until the time when your departure from the surround of Paradise to the outlying earth shall come to pass. And he who is the survivor in those days, shall take thy dead body with him, and carry it away and set it down in the middle of the earth, where I shall show him; for there wilt thou share in the redemption, thou and all thy children. And God revealed the whole of the future, and that the Son will suffer in his [Adam's] stead. ... ...

The Cave of the Treasures.

And Adam and Eve went down the mountain of Paradise, and found a cave on the summit of a mountain

[1] A. p. 16. (In his testament Adam says to Seth:) Be sure that God will come down to earth, as he said to me, and made me understand and know when he comforted me at my exit from Paradise. Praise be his names! He spake to me saying [that] at the end of time he will be incarnate of a virgin girl named Mary and will be veiled in me. . . . [He said:] For thy sake, O Adam, I will become a child; for thy sake, O Adam, I will appear in the market-places; for thy sake, O Adam, I will fast forty days; for thy sake, O Adam, I will receive baptism; ... . (Cp. 'The Song of the Poor's Exaltation' in the Mandæan Liturgies—see my *Gnostic John the Baptizer*, pp. 93-96: For thy sake, O Poor, this firmament was outspread, / Was this firmament spread out, and stars were pictured upon it. / For thy sake, O Poor, this firm land came into existence. / Came into existence this firm land, the condensing took form, fell into the water. / For thy sake the sun, for thy sake the moon was revealed. ... ...)

[of the earth][1]; and they entered it and hid themselves therein. And Adam and Eve were virgin. And when Adam desired to know Eve, he took from the borders of Paradise gold, myrrh and frankincense and placed them in the cave, blessed it [the cave] and sanctified it, in order that it should be the house of prayer for him and his sons, and called it the Cave of the Treasures.[2] And Adam and Eve went down from the said holy mountain to the foot of it below; and there Adam knew his wife Eve. And she conceived and bare Cain and with him his [twin] sister Lebhūdhā; and she conceived again and bare Abel and with him his [twin] sister Ḳelīmath.[3]

Cain and Abel.

When the two pairs of children grew up, Adam declared the law to be that Cain should marry Ḳelīmath and Abel Lebhūdhā. But Cain would not accept the law in his heart, for he desired his own twin-sister, who was the more beautiful. And this was why he slew Abel. The first sacrifice was in connection with their marriage-rites; for Adam gives command to his sons, saying: "Take of the fruits of the trees and of the young of the sheep, and ascend to the summit of the holy mountain, and enter the Cave of the Treasures, and there make your offering; pray before God, and then wed yourselves with your wives."[4]

It was on coming down from the mountain, before the

[1] E. I. xi.: And the place where they wept was nigh unto a high mountain, facing the gate of the garden.

[2] E. I. xxxi. (Michael, Gabriel and Raphael are commanded by God to bring gold, incense and myrrh from the garden to comfort Adam). These remained by Adam in the House of Treasures; therefore was it called 'of Concealment.' But other interpreters say it was called the 'Cave of the Treasures' by reason of the bodies of the righteous men who were in it.

[3] There are numerous variants of these names in the Arabic and Ethiopic and from other sources (see Dillmann, *op. cit.*, p. 139, n. 52), and also quite different ones, *e.g.* Ava, (S)ave, Avain for the elder, and Azara, Azrūn for the younger.

[4] E. I. lxviii. Here the first offering of Adam himself on the first altar is very different, consisting simply of 'bread and water.'

marriages were consummated, that Cain slew Abel. Cain is banned by God from the holy mountain and departs with his twin-sister to the plains of Nod.[1]

Seth and his Sons.

Thereafter Seth was born, beauteous and of gigantic stature, and perfect like Adam. Seth was forefather of all the giants before the flood (p. 9). Seth married Ḳelīmath and became the father of Enoch, whose son was Kenan, whose son was Mahalaleel. All these were born while Adam still lived.

The Death and Burial of Adam.

Round Adam on his death-bed all these three patriarchs gathered; and he blessed them and prayed over them. To Seth he gave his final charge and testament, repeating the revelation of God to him, that his body should be set in the Cave, and there kept until his descendants departed from the holy mountain, when the leader of that day should take it and deposit it in the middle of the earth. "And be thou, my son Seth, the leader of the sons of thy people, and guide them with purity and holiness, and keep thy descendants far from the descendants of Cain the murderer." And "in the 930th year from the creation the departure of Adam from this world came to pass, in the month of Nisan, in the ninth hour. In the same hour when the Son of Man on the Cross gave back his spirit to the Father, in that hour our father Adam gave back his soul to his Creator and departed from this world."[2] And so they embalmed[3] his body and buried it on the summit of the holy mountain on the borders of Paradise in the Cave of the Treasures (p. 10).

[1] Nothing is said here of the burial of Abel's body; but E. II. i. will have it that Adam embalmed it and buried it in the Cave of the Treasures. Thereafter Adam and Eve and Ḳelīmath "came down (*sic*) to the Cave of the Treasures and placed a lamp in it, to burn by night and day before the body of Abel."

[2] Many similar precise dates are given with respect to the rest of the primal patriarchs and other worthies of yore; but they frequently differ not only from the biblical data, which is interesting, but also in the versions from one another, which shows that, if there was a consistent scheme originally, the clue to it was lost.

[3] A. p. 17: Seth embalmed him and swathed him. (The notion is clearly that of mummification.)

Thereafter the clans of Seth and Cain are strictly separated from one another. The former dwelt in the illustrious mountain where Adam was buried, and the latter below on the plain where Cain slew Abel. There follows an account of the 'Service of Seth,' that is, his leadership of his people as high priest of a separated pure and holy race devoted to the service of God, the cult centring round the body of Adam. Because of their purity and holiness they are called the 'Children of God,' and are said to go up for worship to the borders of Paradise.

The Children of God.

And there they continued in peace and ease, and had care for no other work and occupation than to laud and praise God with the hosts of the Angels, so that they heard continually the voice of the Angels who sing in Paradise. And Paradise was not far above them,—only some three spans in the measure of the Spirit. And there, on that holy mountain, they had no labour and no care, no sowing and no reaping; but they fed on the delicious fruits of the splendid trees of every sort, and regaled themselves with the bouquet of choice perfume of fragrance that came forth thither from Paradise. Their wives were faithful and their sons clean and their daughters chaste and virtuous. And there was no disorder among them, no envy, no anger, no enmity. And among their wives and daughters was no impure desire and no unchaste speech. And curses and lies were never heard among them; for their only oath was: "By the pure blood of Abel!" And every day at early morn they and their wives and children went up to the summit of the holy mountain, and there worshipped before God. And so they continued all the days of their lives (p. 11).

The Succession of the Patriarchs.

In his last testament Seth strictly binds Enoch by the blood of Abel to keep far from the Cain-folk, repeats the charge concerning the body of Adam, and makes him leader of the people and priest of the holy service, that "he shall lead them in purity and holiness and serve before the body of Adam, and never leave it." On his death-bed Seth blesses his sons; and Enoch embalms his body and buries it in the Cave alongside the body of Adam. And so also at the death of Enoch similar testament and blessing are recorded and Kenan performs like burial rites for his father. Thus "Kenan arose for the service before God in the Cave of the Treasures," fulfilling all the commands of his father Enoch. There follow in succession Mahalaleel and Jared. And Jared was "a perfect Man, perfected in all virtues, and continued steadfast in prayer day and night" in his service before God over the body of Adam. He was especially excellent in his leadership.

The Fall of the Sons of Seth.

Nevertheless it was in Jared's days that the fall of the sons of Seth, the children of God, the select or chosen race, came to pass. They broke the oath which they swore by the pure blood of Abel; and they began to descend from the holy mountain into the camp or lair of malice, to the settlements of the children of Cain on the plain. The Cain-tribes are graphically depicted as rioting in gluttonry and guzzling, debauchery and drunkenness, in song and dance, music and laughter, under the evil inspiration of Satan, the father of all harlotry and irreligion, and of his demonic host that entered into the flutes and zithers and other instruments of music, and robbed the folk of their right senses. This music was Satan's lure to entice the pious children of Seth and bring them down from the holy mountain (p. 15). The daughters of Cain were beautiful and lascivious, and openly and shamelessly wantoned with the males with the promiscuity of animals; incest in every degree was rampant. The men fought for the women and the women for the men; and the demonic host, the unclean spirits, entered into them. The sound of their wild music of flutes and zithers, drums and cymbals,

carried to the holy mountain; and the children of Seth heard the noise of the uproar and laughter. And a hundred of them,—men of gigantic stature and heroes of might,—determined to go down to the Cain-settlement. In the greatest distress Jared besought them to be true to their oath; and they were warned by Enoch (a second Enoch who is here introduced without explanation) that if they did so, they would never return.

And when they saw the daughters of Cain, who were fair to look upon and shamelessly bared their persons, the children of Seth burned with the fire of lust. And when the daughters of Cain saw the beauty of the sons of Seth, they fastened on them, like ravenous beasts, and defiled their bodies. And the sons of Seth plunged into ruin through lechery with the daughters of Cain. And when they would ascend again the holy mountain, after their descent and fall, the rocks of the holy mountain (p. 16) became fire for their eyes; and God suffered them no more to ascend to the holy place.

After them many others fell away and went down. In these sad circumstances Jared delivered his last testament to Enoch and the rest who remained on the holy mountain. Jared said:

The Testaments of Jared and Enoch.

"I conjure you, by the pure blood of Abel, not to go down from this holy mountain below. For I know that [if ye do,] God will no longer suffer you to dwell in this holy place. But because [some of] you have [already] transgressed the commandments of your fathers, ye shall [now all] be driven out into the outlying earth, and shall no more dwell on the borders of Paradise. But see ye to it, that whoever of you [last] leaves this holy place, he take with him the body of our father Adam,—and also those objects of offering which are in the Cave of the Treasures,—and carry it thither

where it is commanded by God, and there deposit it. And do thou, my son Enoch, not remove thyself from the body of Adam, but serve before God in purity and holiness all the days of thy life!"

So Jared died and Enoch succeeded him in the leadership and in priestly service. But the children of Seth still continued to stray from the way of righteousness, and to go down from the mountain. Then did Enoch and Methuselah and Lamech and Noah separate themselves from them. And when Enoch perceived that God would recall him, he summoned the other three to him and spake:

"I know that God is wroth with this generation and will pronounce sentence without pity upon them. Ye are the heads and the last of this generation (p. 17), and no other man will be born on this mountain to be head of the children of his people. But see ye to it, that ye serve before God in purity and holiness."

And when Enoch had thus charged them, God removed him unto the Land of Life, to the lovely dwellings which lie round about Paradise, the Land that is raised above death. And of all the children of Seth there remained three patriarchs only on the Mount of Triumph—Methuselah, Lamech and Noah.

Noah and the Ark.

And as Noah saw that sin in his generation was great, he kept his soul in virginity five hundred years. Thereafter God conversed with him and spake to him: "Take to thyself for wife Haikal the daughter of Nāmos [A. Namousa] the daughter of Enoch the brother of Methuselah." . . . . . (God predicts the coming flood, and thus gives charge to Noah:) "But build for thee an ark [lit. chest] for the salvation of the children of thy house. And thou shalt build it

below in the settlement of the children of Cain; and the wood thereof thou shalt hew from the holy mountain." . . . . . (Plan and measurements are detailed, and then we read:) "And make for thee a gong [lit. bell] of ebony that is not worm-eaten; let its length be three and its width one and a half ells, and for it shall a striker be hewn. And thou shalt sound therewith three times a day: once in the morning for the workers to assemble for building the ark; and once at mid-day for them to eat; and once at even for them to go to rest. And when, on thy sounding, they hear the ringing of the gong and ask thee: What doest thou?—give answer to them: God will prepare a flood."

And Noah did as the Lord commanded him. And in the course of a hundred years Shem, Ham and Japhet were born to him; and he took for them wives from the daughters of Methuselah. Lamech dies forty years before the flood and is embalmed and buried in the Cave. And Methuselah and Noah alone remain on the mountain; the rest of the sons of Seth having descended to the plain to the daughters of Cain. And these conceived and bore of them giant men, huge like towers. Here the epicist is specially anxious to deny that the 'sons of God' were the fallen Angels. When Methuselah is nigh unto death at the ripe age of nine hundred and sixty-nine years, he bitterly bewails the fall of the children of Seth, and in his last testament gives charge as follows:

The Testament of Methuselah.

"Of all the families and generations of our fathers there is left only this remnant of eight. May the Lord, the God of our fathers bless you, the God who hath fashioned our father [Adam] and Eve alone. They were fruitful and became many; and the whole of the blessed land surrounding Paradise was filled with them. May he make you fruitful and numerous,

and may the whole of the earth be filled from you, and may you be redeemed from the mighty judgment of wrath that will be inflicted on this defiant generation. And may God be with you and preserve you; and may the gift that was bestowed upon our father go forth with you from the holy place. And the three measures of blessing which God hath given to our father Adam shall be the leaven, and shall be kneaded into the seed of you and your children,—to wit, the kingship and priesthood and prophethood. Give ear, O Noah, thou blessed of the Lord! . . . . . Take thy wife and thy sons and the wives of thy sons, and go down from this holy mountain, and take with thee the body of our father Adam and these three objects of offering,—gold, myrrh and frankincense; and set the body of Adam in the midst of the ark and the oblation upon it. And thou and thy sons shall be in the eastern part of the ark, and thy wife and the wives of thy sons in the western. And your wives shall not cross over to you, and ye shall not cross over to them. And ye shall not eat and drink with them, and shall not cohabit with them, until ye shall have gone forth from the ark. For God hath provoked this generation to wrath; and they no longer are worthy of being neighbours of Paradise and of singing praise with the Angels. And when the water of the flood is gone to rest from off the surface of the earth, and ye go forth from the ark and dwell in that land, thou shalt not, O Noah, thou blessed of the Lord, depart from the ark, from the body of Adam (p. 20); but thou shalt serve before God in the ark in purity and holiness all the days of thy life. And those offerings shall be set down in the east [of the ark]. And give commandment to thy first-born Shem that after thy death he shall take the

body of our father with him,[1] and bring it and set it in the middle of the earth.[2]

And there shall he make to dwell a man of thy descendants, so that he serve there. And he shall be abstinent all the days of his life, and shall there take no wife and shed no blood; and there shall be no dwelling-place there. And there shall he make no offering of wild beasts or of birds, but shall offer unto God bread and wine.[3] For there, will the redemption of Adam and of all his children be accomplished. And the Angel of the Lord will go before him [Shem], and show him the place which is the middle of the earth. And he who is set to the service before the body of Adam,—his garment shall be the skins of beasts, and he shall not cut the hair of his head and shall not pare his nails, and shall be solitary, in that he is the servant of the Most High God."

The Body of Adam is removed to the Ark.

Methuselah dies and is embalmed and buried in the Cave. And when the days of mourning were over, Noah went into the Cave of the Treasures and embraced and kissed the holy bodies of the patriarchs, his eyes streaming with tears in great sorrow. And he himself bore the body of Adam and his sons the holy offerings. And when they were come down from the holy mountain, they broke into sobbing and lamenting at being despoiled of the holy place and the dwelling of their fathers. And they lifted up their eyes to Paradise, weeping and lamenting, and thus spake:

"Rest in peace, holy Paradise! dwelling-place of our father Adam, who went forth from thee in life,

[1] A. p. 81 here adds: Make for it a large chest and put it within.

[2] A. *ibid.* adds: [There] the four pillars of the world are joined together and have become one pillar.

[3] A. p. 26: fine bread, pure and white, and the best drink, pressed from the fruit of the vine.

when he was despoiled [of his glory] and had sinned. And lo! now too in his death hath he been expelled from thy surround, and with his children is cast out abroad, into the land of crimes, for his children there to be driven about in pain and sickness and toil and hardship and adversity. Rest in peace, O Cave of the Treasures! Rest in peace, thou dwelling place and heritage of our fathers! Pray for us, who lie in dust, ye friends and lovers of the living God! Pray for the remnant that here remains of all your posterity! Pray for us in your prayer[s], ye propitiators of God! Rest in peace, O Seth, the head of the fathers; rest in peace, O Kenan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Methuselah, Lamech and Enoch, ye servants of God! Rise up in sorrow for us! Rest in peace, Holy Mountain; rest in peace thou haven and retreat of Angels! O fathers, pray for us, in sorrow that ye have been robbed of intercourse with us! But we will raise our voices in sorrow, for that we are cast out into a barren land and must dwell with the wild beasts." [1]

And so kissing the rocks and embracing the dear trees, they left the holy mountain. And Noah entered the ark and laid the body of Adam in the midst and the offerings upon it (p. 22).[2] And all the rest of the instructions of Methuselah were carried out as to the service over the body of Adam in the ark, according to the type of the future Church. And so the flood befell. And the Angel of the Lord took his stand on the roof of the ark and acted as steersman (p. 23). The swiftly rising water carried the ark to the borders of Paradise. There, were they blessed and purified; and so kissing the foot of Paradise, they turned about

[1] E. III. vi. 2 (When Noah removed the body of Adam from the Cave, the rest of the bodies cry out in lamentation.) And God left the divine fire with them [*sc.* the perpetually burning lamp]. He then closed the Cave upon them, and left not a trace to show [where it is], until the days of the Resurrection, when he will raise them up, like all other bodies.

[2] A. p. 28: with the offerings upon its breast.

to lay waste the earth. And the ark flew on the wings of the wind, from east to west and from north to south, describing a cross on the water.

The epic continues to 'agadize' the biblical story in detail (pp. 25, 26) up to the time of Noah's approaching death, when he called his first-born son Shem to him and spake to him secretly:

Noah's Secret Testament.

"Give heed, my son Shem, to what I shall say to thee this day. When I am dead, go into the ark in which ye have been saved, and take therefrom the body of our father Adam, and no man is to see thee. And take with thee bread and wine and provisions for the journey. And take with thee Melchizedek, the son of Malaḥ; for him hath God chosen of all thy descendants, to serve before him over the body of our father Adam. And go up and set it down in the middle of the earth, and let Melchizedek abide there (p. 27). And lo! the Angel of the Lord shall go before you and show you the way ye have to go, and also the place where the body of Adam is to be set down,—that is, the middle of the earth. And there [the] four ends [thereof] join; for when God made the earth, his power sped on before it, and the earth sped on after it from [the] four quarters, like wind, yea a light breeze; and there his power stood still and came to rest. 'Tis there that redemption will be accomplished for Adam and all his children. . . . . Lo! this story will not be told among all thy descendants. But go thou up and take and set down the body of Adam in secret where God will show you, until the day of redemption."

The Body of Adam is Buried at Golgotha.

And so on Noah's death Shem took the body of Adam from the ark and sealed up the ark with his father's seal, and no man

saw him do this.[1] Shem gives excuse to his brothers, Ham and Japhet, that their father had before his death bidden him to go forth and prospect the land and rivers. He begs Malaḥ and his wife Jozadak to let their son Melchizedek go with him; and tells them that Noah had charged him to let no one enter the ark or even approach it, and had to this intent sealed it with his seal. So Shem and Melchizedek departed secretly by night with the body of Adam. And the Angel of the Lord led them on[2] and eased their journey until they came to Golgotha.

And when Shem had set down the body of our father Adam over this place, [its] four quarters parted asunder, and the earth opened in the form of a cross. And Shem and Melchizedek laid the body of Adam within. And as soon as they had laid it in the earth, the four sides moved and enclosed the body of our father Adam, and the door of the outer earth shut. And the place was named 'Place of a Skull,' because the head of all men was there deposited; and 'Golgotha,' because it was round; and 'High Pavement,' because upon it the head of the Evil Serpent, who is Satan, was trodden under foot; and 'Gabbatha,' for all peoples were gathered together there. And Shem spake to Melchizedek: "Thou art the servant of the Most High God; for God hath chosen thee alone to serve in this place before him. And abide thou here continually, and remove not thyself from this place all the days of thy life. And thou shalt not take a wife, and shalt not cut thy hair, and shalt not shed blood in this place, and shalt sacrifice no wild beasts and birds, but shalt constantly offer up bread and wine; and thou

[1] E. III. xviii. adds that Shem made a beautiful case or coffin in which to put the body and also the gold and frankincense and myrrh.

[2] E. III. xix. (On the evening of the first day's travel, as they stood praying) a voice from inside the coffin of Adam said: "Glory to God who created me, who gave me life, who made me die; and who again returns me to the earth out of which he took me." (The voice then blesses Melchizedek and tells him he is the first priest anointed by the Spirit.)

shalt erect no building on this spot. And lo! the Angel of the Lord will constantly come down to thee and take care of thee." And Shem embraced and kissed Melchizedek and blessed him. And so he returned (p. 29) to his brethren. Then Malaḥ and Jozadak asked him: "Where is the youth?" and to them he made answer: "He died on the journey, and I have buried him."

The course of the main story is resumed, but no more is heard of the body of Adam until we come to the episode of Melchizedek and Abraham.

And Abraham was eighty years old when he pursued the kings and set free his brother's son Lot. And at this time he had no son, for Sarah was barren. And when he returned from the war with the kings, the dispensation of God called him, and he betook himself to Mount Yābos (Jebus).[1] There Melchizedek, the king of Salem, the priest of the Most High God, met him. And when he saw Melchizedek, Abraham hastened and fell on his face before him and worshipped before him. And he arose from the earth, embraced and kissed him. . . . And Melchizedek blessed Abraham, and Abraham gave him tithes of all that he had, in order that he might make him a sharer in the holy mysteries, in the bread of offering and the wine of redemption. And after Melchizedek had blessed him and made him sharer in the holy mysteries, God conversed with Abraham and spake: "Thy reward is exceeding great. Now that Melchizedek hath blessed thee (p. 35) and hath communicated to thee the bread

[1] E. IV. i.: Then as he [A.] was returning from the war with these kings, the power of God drew him, until he had passed over the hill of Nablus [=Mount Gerizim]; and from the hill of Nablus he came down to Jerusalem, ere it was built.

and the wine, I too will bless thee and make thy seed a multitude." ... ...

And Isaac was twenty and two years old when his father took him and went up Mount Jebus to Melchizedek, the servant of the Most High God. Mount Jebus is the highland of Amoræa, and on this spot was the Cross of the Messiah set up. And there, there sprang up a tree which bore the lamb that redeemed Isaac. And this place is the middle of the earth and the grave of Adam and the altar of Melchizedek, and Golgotha and Place of a Skull and Gabbatha. And there David saw the Angel who carried the fiery sword. And there Abraham offered his son Isaac as a burnt offering, and he [fore]saw the Cross of the Messiah and the redemption of our father Adam. The tree was a type of the Cross of the Messiah, our Lord, and the lamb in its branches the mystery of the Eternal Lord's becoming man. . . . (p. 36).

In the same year that Abraham offered Isaac Jerusalem was built by the twelve kings for Melchizedek. For when they heard his story, they said: "He is in truth king of the whole earth and father of all kings." There follows an exegesis of the Melchizedek chapter in *Hebrews*, with the naïve concluding remark: "But the Apostle [the Epistle being ascribed to Paul] has not said that he [M.] has no parents, but only that they were not set down in the genealogies of Matthew and Luke." Thereafter nothing more is heard of the body of Adam, except that the blood and water flowing from the pierced side of the Saviour on the Cross is said to have baptized Adam and so redeemed him. But what is said about the genealogies is so important that it cannot be omitted.

The Lost Genealogies.

Omitting many a chapter of highly glossed ancient story, we come to the days of Nebuchadnezzar (p. 51). When Jerusalem was taken and burned, the high priest Simeon, who had favour

and free speech with the Assyrian general, begged that the rolls of holy writ should not be destroyed. His prayer was granted and Simeon gathered them all together and threw them into a well.[1] There they remained until the return from the Captivity in the second year of Cyrus.

And when they came up they had no writings of the prophets. And Ezra the scribe descended into that well and found an incense-pan filled with fire, and a smoke of fragrance that rose from it. And thrice did he take from the ashes of the holy books and put them into his mouth. And forthwith God gave him the spirit of prophecy, and he renewed all the writings of the prophets.[2] And the light which was found in that well, was the light of holiness of the temple of the Lord (p. 52). . . . . .

(p. 53) And as none of the earlier authors found the genealogical line of the descendants of their fathers, the Jews pressed the children of the Church to shew them the parents of the blessed Mary in the line of her pedigree, and advised the children of the Church to search for the line of the families of her fathers and show forth the truth. For they called Mary an

[1] E. IV. x. (quite otherwise and more in keeping with the sequel): But Simeon the priest found favour with the captain of the king's army, and requested him to give him the house of records; and he gave him command accordingly. Then Simeon the priest came in and gathered together the ashes of the books, and laid them in a pot in a vault; and he took a censer of brass, and put fire therein and pure incense upon it, and hung it in the vault where the ashes of the books lay.

[2] E. IV. xi.: But when the children of Israel returned from Babylon they had not the law, neither was there a book in their hands; inasmuch as the voices of the prophets had departed from among them. So when they came to Jerusalem and were settled in it, Ezra the scribe came to the vault in which were the ashes of the books, which Simeon the priest had gathered together. And Ezra found the censer which was full of fire, hanging [with] smoke of incense rising from it on high. Then Ezra prayed to God, wept abundantly, and spread his hand towards the ashes of the books of the law and of the prophets and all of them three times. Then came the spirit of God upon him, and the [same] Spirit spake through him that had spoken through the prophets. And he wrote the law and the prophets, and made them new a second time.

adulteress.[1] But now will the mouth of the Jews be made dumb, and they will believe that Mary was of the seed of the house of David and of Abraham. For the Jews have no genealogies which can show them the true state of things concerning the families of their fathers, because their writings have been consumed with fire: once in the days of Antiochus who persecuted them, defiled the temple and forced them to sacrifice to idols; a second time in the days of . . . [*lacuna*];[2] and a third time in the days of Herod when Jerusalem was destroyed. And for this cause were the Jews in great distress, because they had no true genealogies of the descendants of their fathers. And they made effort in all haste to set their feet on the truth, but they could not. And they had many writers, and each of them wrote as he would, and they did not agree one with the other, for they could not stand on the ground of the truth. And our writers also, the sons of the Church, were not able to show us the certainty of the efficient truth,—neither how the body of Adam was brought to Golgotha, nor whence were the parents of Melchizedek, nor the parents of the blessed Mary. And when the children [of Israel] were pressed by the Church and found not the truth, they were presumptuous and wrote in the manner of the babbling of error. And this ... ... was ... ... the succession of sixty-three families that stretch from Adam to the

[1] A. p. 55. (Peter is supposed to be speaking:) On account of our knowledge . . . about the genealogy of our Lady Mary, and the genealogies of her ancestors, the Jews begin with assertions about us, that we do not know them; and they venture to mock the mother of the Light, the Lady Mary, the Virgin, and they attribute her genealogy to fornication, because they do not know that it was the Holy Ghost who came down on us, a company of twelve in the upper room of Zion, who taught us all that we need to know about the genealogies and the rest of the mysteries, as he had taught Azariah (Ezra) the truth of the Law, so that he kept it and renewed it.

[2] The sentence is out of order. The Ethiopic is as confused, but makes plain that the first burning was in the days of Nebuchadnezzar as above.

Messiah. [But] whence each man of them has taken a wife and whose daughter she was,—that, neither the Greek nor the Hebrew nor the Syrian writers could show. And, seeing that every one of the divine teachers of the Church has given one [characteristic] true teaching as basal (p. 54), and they have given the faithful a weapon wherewith to fight and war upon her foes, the grace of the Messiah has bestowed upon us also the privilege of adding to this rich treasure what was not possible for them. And we have taken pains with much care to do this, as our illustrious brother in Christ Nemesius desires. And though I be hampered by my remissness, whilst thou lettest not one eye stir from the love of learning, and this because of thy dear affection for me,—yet have I too made effort not to withhold from thee that which thou dost require of me, but will write it unto thee. Give ear, my brother Nemesius! This line of genealogy which I have written unto thee, no one of all the teachers has yet come across. And these three and sixty generations, from which the incarnation of the Messiah is drawn, are thus traced back.

There follows a genealogy from Adam to Mary, with glosses on details, and the statement that from the second year of Cyrus to the death of Jesus five hundred years have elapsed, according to the prophecy of Daniel (p. 56): "After two and sixty [*sic*] weeks will the Messiah be born," which weeks are just the five hundred years! Thereafter we have select legendary accounts of the birth and childhood of Jesus and the story of the Magi;[1] and so this remarkable Christian apocryphon is brought to an end.

G. R. S. MEAD.

[1] E. IV. xiv. adds: So they went up a high mountain in the east, while coming westwards; and they took with them the presents they had prepared ere they set off on their journey; that is, gold, frankincense and myrrh—that had been with Adam in the Cave of the Treasures.

SOME MAORI CHANTS.

H. C. Corrance, B.A.

In the articles on the Lore of the Whare-Wānanga or House of Learning of the Maoris, published in the April and July numbers of The Quest, some examples were quoted of the *karakias* (invocations, spells, chants and hymns) included in the teaching.

As these represent some of its most characteristic moments, it may be of interest to print the rest as they occur in the order of narration.[1] As regards that order it must be observed that, in these records, no indication of the year is ever given, and the would-be historian must rely upon such calculations as he can make from genealogical tables.

The following is the nuptial hymn celebrating the marriage between Tāne and Hine-hau-one, to which reference was made in the first article of this series.

A Marriage Hymn.

Here am I, a man, a divine one, O Hine, e—i!
Here is a divine man, for thee, O Hine, e—i!
Here am I a husband of thine, O Hine, e—i!
Here am I, a lover, a lover embracing, of thine, O Hine,
e—i!
Let thy body closely adhere to this male,

[1] See the two volumes, entitled *The Whare-Wānanga, or Teachings of the Maori House of Learning*, by S. Percy Smith (Avery, New Plymouth, N.Z., 1913-15), and for an introduction and description of how these hitherto secret traditions of the Maoris have become known, see the first article in the April Quest.

Concentrate thy thoughts on this thy lordly husband,
O Hine, e—i!
Firmly affixed to the very roots of thy thought,
Adhere to the decreed purpose of woman—
To this husband of thine, O Hine-one, e—i!
Come close; as this man adheres to this Hine-one,
e—i!
The object of our union was decided of old;
It is firmly adhered to by this son, O Hine, e—i!
Adhere in closest embrace, the woman to this man,
O Hine, e—i
Forget all thoughts of others, think not of nor incline
To the persuasion of other sons to thee, O Hine-one,
e—i!
From the fruitless searching, from the unacquired,
From the unpossessed have the thoughts of those sons
Been on thee, O Hine-one, e—i!
Nor rest on nor turn thy looks;
Not a glance of the eye, or a secret thought.
In thy hidden innermost thoughts be this son's alone,
O Hine-one, e—i!
For we are the waters, the clothing; we are spouses.
Bound like a sister and a brother, O Hine—e!
We are spouses bound to one another in gladness;
We belong to one another O Hine-one, e—i!
Who will first annul it, thou! who will be estranged,
thou!
Who will lack affection, thou! who will show fear,
thou!
Whose will be the evil thoughts and words, thine!
Whose were the searchings, the unacquired, the un-
possessed?
'Twas Hine-one, towards those other sons, O Hine-one
e—i!

Be bound by thine eyes, be bound by thy mouth,
Bound by thy body to this man of thine—
A man desired, a man most suitable,
A man embracing—of thine, is this man,
This Tāne-nui-a-rangi—
This Tāne-matua of thine, O Hine, e—i!

The *karakias* published in the second volume mark the periods of the successive migrations, being assigned in the teaching to certain 'historical' occasions. The first of these concerns the canoe 'Uruao,' which was used at the first migration, from Irihia to Tawhiti-roa.[1] Of this Mr. Percy Smith writes:

One of the old *karakias*, or invocations, used in the building of the ancient vessel 'Uruao,' has been preserved and has formed the type for similar ones, under the same circumstances, down to late years. How ancient it is in the belief of the people is shown by the fact that it is supposed to have been recited by Tupai, younger brother of Tāne-nui-a-rangi, both gods and offspring of the Sky-father and Earth-mother. Again we may see how ancient this vessel is, by the fact of its name having been applied to one of the constellations—'Te Waka-o-Tama-rereti,' which is the name given to the constellation of Scorpio, the stars in which appear to the Maori as representing a canoe, with a high stern-post, and the anchor down, attached by a cable shown by a line of stars.

The Scribe writes to me thus:

"The following is the *karakia* used in felling the trees and in shaping out the canoes of the ancestors, which *karakia* descended to Rongo-Patahi, Ruawharo, Taikehu and Pawa, and was used by them in the shaping of 'Takitumu' canoe [which brought the ancestors of the Scribe from Tahiti in the fourteenth century]. The first canoe built in the world [known to the Maoris] was that of Tama-rereti, named 'Uruao,' and this is the *karakia* used by Tupai, younger brother of Tāne-nui-a-rangi, when the canoe 'Uruao' was hewn out."

[1] India and Sumatra, as our author is inclined to believe.

Chant of the Canoe-making.

Vouchsafe the highest knowledge,
Vouchsafe the enduring knowledge,
Vouchsafe the matured knowledge,
Vouchsafe that particular knowledge
    Of Io-the-Father, the-Origin, the-Life-giving,
To this scion of thine,
    O Io-the-Exalted-of-Heaven, e—i!
Give of thy supreme knowledge,
Thy matured knowledge, god-like knowledge,
    To these sons of thine—
Sons from the ancient, from pre-human times.
Endow with god-like attributes,
    O Io-the-All-knowing, the-Origin!
These thy sons, e—i.

And now will I uplift these axes of mine,
Named 'Te Hae-mata' and 'Whiro-nui.'
By whom then are my axes?
'Twas Uru-te-ngangana made my axes.
For what purpose are my axes?
    As felling trees in the 'great-forest-of-Tāne,'
    To fell a tree to the earth below.
With ancient and superhuman skill,
Such as thine, O Tāne-the-Life-giving!
(Delegate thy powers)
To these thy sons, these great and mighty sons.
(Endow) these sons with superhuman knowledge and
    power.

Again my axes I now uplift.
What kind of axes are mine?
    My axes are long ones.

What kind of axes are mine?
My axes are endowed with desire to succeed.
What kind of axes are mine?
Axes with broad edges are mine.
What sort of axes are mine?
Axes with keen edges are mine.
What uses shall my axes serve?
Axes to shape out my canoe are mine.
What purpose are my axes for?
Axes to dub out the hold are my axes.
What work are these axes to perform?
Axes accurately to shape and finish each stroke.
What other uses have these axes of mine?
Axes to perforate and hollow out
The great, the long, the matured heart-wood of the tree,
So my canoe may emerge in the end,
Both inside and out, like Tawhito-ngawariwari.

What name has my canoe?
'Tis 'Uru-nui.'
What name has my canoe?
'Tis 'Uruao-kapua-rangi' (Uruao-Cloud-of-heaven).
What kind is my canoe?
A canoe of the ancients is my canoe.
What kind is my canoe?
'Tis a super-human-made canoe.
What kind is my canoe?
'Tis formed as a god-like canoe.
What kind is my canoe?
Formed to sail in the heavens is my canoe (or in each quarter of the earth).
What kind is my canoe?
A canoe complete in all its parts is my canoe.

What kind is my canoe?
'Tis like a son of Mumu-whango,[1]
A canoe of life, a heavenly canoe.

The next *karakia* relates to the sixth migration, that under Whatonga to New Zealand. Whatonga made this expedition to search for Toi-te-huatahi, his grandfather, who had sailed for New Zealand with a party some time previously and of whom no news had been received.

After a description of the canoe, an account of Whatonga's choice of men and assignment of them to their several places and duties, the narrative continues:

Now the old name of this canoe was 'Te Hawai,' and when she was completed for her voyage she was drawn down to the *turuma* [the latrine where the canoes were taken, as being a place where no food was used, and thus acquired the *tapu* of the place, which ensured that no food would afterwards be placed on board by any evil-disposed person to desecrate the *tapu* of the canoe, says the Scribe], where the *pure* [or cleansing from *tapu*] ceremonies were performed over her, and the new name of 'Kura-hau-pō' given her. The following is the *karakia* or prayer said over 'Kura-hau-pō':

Launching Hymn.

Now do I drag down my canoe—
The canoe of Turangi.
Its name was 'Hawai,' my canoe.
I launch forth my canoe,
A canoe to breast the ocean waves.
I drag down my canoe,
To be a war-canoe of Tama-whai,
This canoe of Turangi's.
I launch my canoe,

[1] Mumu-whango, the ancestress of the *totara* tree, of which wood canoes were generally built.

Now named 'Kura-hau-pō,'
A canoe to brave the ocean waves;
A canoe to dare the clouds of heaven,
O Tirea (second day) of the waxing moon!
I launch my good canoe,
That will swallow the lands and ocean deeps,
That in the end thou mayest arrive
With me at the sought-for land,
O Kura-hau-pō—e!
That thou mayest safely emerge
At the original, sought-for land,
That thou mayest reach
Where Toi-te-huatahi will be found by me.
May a man-like and an occult vitality
Be given to me,
To reach the distant land,
And be buoyant as the heavens,
To the point of land where thou art, O Toi!
Here am I just starting,
Here am I just slipping along,
By aid of potent charms,
With vital powers that have been given to me.
Haul on (thou land!) with attractive force,
Pull hard that we may approach;
Pull straight in my very front.
'Tis a strenuous, vital power
That actuates this son, e—i!

After this *karakia* had been recited, 'Kura-hau-pō' was dragged down to the water at daylight, and the crew commenced to take up their appointed places at the various twenty-six thwarts.

About the middle of the fourteenth century, according to Mr. Percy Smith's reckoning, there was a migration from Tahiti to the Chatham Islands.

As in most other cases, this was due to 'wars and troubles.'

A chief, Tu-moana, had been slain and, in consequence, many of his people left the island. Among those who remained behind was Te Kiri-kakahu, Tu-moana's sister, who thus bewailed the departure of her tribe:

A Lament.

Before my eyes the plain of Kaingaroa lies,
Whilst now are lost the great ones of the tribe;
Plainly discerned is the hill at Amoamo-te-rangi,
Where by fire the Uru-o-manōno was destroyed;
The mainspring of the people are now separated from
me
To the world's wide open space
That spreads away from Hawaiki's shore.
Lie there then O Manaia! O Whena!
Through whose evil deeds I am now left behind.

The voyage was stormy and the following *karakia* was recited in order to calm the waves:

A Spell for Calm Weather.

Who is my god that I call on? 'Tis Maru-hikuata.
Who is my god that I invoke? 'Tis Pawa-au-tahi.
Who is my god that I beseech? 'Tis Kahukura-mana-
hau.
Who then is my god? 'Tis Tawhiri-rangi.
Here am I working my spells—
Spells to move the earth, to move the heavens and the
ocean,
(That dangers) may be dispersed to a distance;
That their angry disposition may be ended.
Break down the waves of the wide-spread ocean,

Cause to end the reason of their anger,
Drive them away to Tawhiti-nui, to Tawhiti-roa,
So my canoe may pass over the breadth of ocean ;
For 'tis a canoe of high chiefs of the land.
Cause the wind to blow astern of the canoe.
Who is my guardian fish ? 'Tis the Ika-pakake.
Who is my guardian fish ? 'Tis the Ika-para-tuwai.[1]
Who is my guardian fish ? 'Tis the Ika of Tangaroa of Ocean.[2]
Help, help the high-class canoe ;
Rest ye beneath, the Ika-pipiha-nui, the Ika-pipiha-roa,[1]
Carry her along to the distant shore.

But this time the spell failed of its effect. The canoe was wrecked in the surf at Whare-Kauri (Chatham Island) and many of the crew were drowned. Kini-rangi was the commander of the canoe and this was the dirge his sister sang on the occasion of his death :

A Dirge.

Floating unsteadily are the bare planks on the sea, floating, floating
Away to the sky, on the foaming ocean ;
Floating, floating are Marua-roa, Marua-Kauanga,
Floating away to Raro-kohu (the Land of Mists),
To the land where grows the karaka-tree.
They sailed away (did the people) of Turangi-Hawaiki.
What object of revenge didst thou go for ?
Perhaps it was Tu-moana, whose evil deeds bite my vitals.

[1] These 'fish' are of the whale and *taniwha* family, which the incantations of the priests were supposed to have power to summon to their aid in carrying the vessel over the waves in safety.

[2] Tangaroa is god of ocean and of all fish.

Float away then, O Matangi-ao;
To Tiritiri-o-te-moana (N.Z.), to the land
On which rest Pukohu-rangi (the heavy clouds).
Float away Ngangana, Aorangi-tahuhu,
Moko-nui, Matangi-aurei and Maroro,
Opposing powers of the gales and storms;
Float away then to Whiti-kau,
Leaving me here with grief bowed down,
At great Hawaiki, Hawaiki abandoned.
Thus is left this ariki woman, Rangi Te Kapu-o-rangi.

Two of the above are not *karakias* in the sense already indicated, but the style is similar, and they are interesting as showing that this type of composition was not confined to one purpose.

Occasionally home-sickness proved too much for the emigrants, as in the case of Kahu-koka, who had reached New Zealand probably some years before this unfortunate expedition. On his return to Tahiti he chanted this prayer for a safe voyage to the gods of the winds and seas:

Prayer for a Safe Voyage.

Clear, clear away the seas of Ocean,
Clear the seas of Kiwa,
Clear, clear the seas of Hine-moana,
Clear, clear the seas of Tangaroa,
Clear, clear the seas of Tane-matua,
Clear, clear the seas, O Tawhiri-matea.[1]

Subside the ocean ripples, the watery ripples,
Lie flat the heavenly mists, the rains of heaven,
In the whirlpools, the widespread, the calm currents.
Spread out the currents of the South, the southerly gales,

[1] God of the winds.

The west, the north-west, the easterly currents,
The ocean current straight to Hawaiki
To the home, to the fatherland.

Deign, deign, O Tawhiri-matea,[1]
To cause thy winds to blow from the West direct,
Direct to the fatherland, to Hawaiki;
Close up, shut up thy southerly winds,
Thy easterly winds withhold;
Leave us to follow the course of the sea of Maui,
The sea of Kupe, the sea of Te Rongo-patahi,[2]
Nor deviate on the waves.

Recede the tides of Aotea (N.Z.),
Recede the tides of the Ocean of Kiwa,
Recede the tides of Hine-moana;
May Tangaroa direct us to the home,
By low tides, by high and spring tides;
And thus will sail the fine canoe of Kāhu-koka
To the bays of Hawaiki-nui and so to land.

At the end of this *karakia* the canoe was launched on the ocean before the rays of the sun had appeared above the horizon.

The remaining *karakias* are concerned with the principal canoe of 'the fleet,' which sailed from Tahiti to New Zealand about the middle of the fourteenth century. The first of these was sung over the axes, the tree and the workmen before the work began. The opening stanza beginning: "Here am I begging that the great knowledge" was printed in the last paper. These are the remaining stanzas:

[1] God of the winds.

[2] This man was the priest of 'Takitimu' canoe, and finding his name here seems to imply that this voyage back to Hawaiki occurred after the arrival of 'the fleet' in 1850 A.D.

Chant of the Axes.

Here I uplift my famous axes,
Named 'Te Rakuraku-o-Tawhaki,'
'Hui-te-rangiora' and 'Te Iwi-o-Rona.'
Whose then are my axes? Tawhaki's!
Whose then are my axes? Răta's!
Răta, of priestly and esoteric knowledge
Give to these thy sons.

For what purpose are my axes?
To fell the great forest of Tāne—
To lay low the tree with my axe,
With occult and ancient rites,
Rites appropriate to thee, O Tāne-the-Life-giving!
Accord to these sons the powers of the great and
exalted sons,
Make them expert with occult knowledge,
With knowledge such as the gods, e—i!

Now I uplift my famous axes.
What kind are my axes?
They are great and powerful axes.
What kind are my axes?
They are axes very appropriate.
What kind then are my axes?
Axes with great edges, sharp axes,
Axes to dub out my canoe are my axes.
What purpose do my axes serve?
Axes to hollow the hold, to dub the centre,
To smooth the sides, to make the holes,
To finish the ends.
On the great and lengthy core of the tree,
The central parts of my canoe,

They enter within the wood, to Tawhito-ngawariwari,
. . . . Whaitiri, with heavy blows, e—i!

What is the name of my canoe? It is 'Te Pu-whenua'!
What kind of a canoe is mine?
A canoe like those of the ancients is my canoe!
What is my canoe like?
Like a canoe of the dark ages is my canoe!
What is my canoe like?
Like those used by the gods!
What is my canoe like?
A canoe to traverse the heavens is my canoe!
What is my canoe like?
An ocean-going canoe is my canoe!
What is my canoe like?
A canoe to carry men is my canoe!
What is my canoe like?
A very sacred vessel is my canoe!
What is my canoe like?
A canoe to direct its course to the new land is my canoe!
What will my canoe be like?
Brave to breast the ocean waves is my canoe,
To reach the land, to the main-land direct her course, e—i!

The canoe was built at some distance from the sea in the woods where the chosen tree was felled.

It was therefore agreed that the *pu-whenua* should be dragged to Te Pakaroa; and Ruawharo arranged that new skids should be made for the canoe. So they were made—made by those Tohungas [priests or artisans], and named 'Te Manu-tawhio-rau' for the bow, and 'Te Manu-ka-tiu' for the stern. These were the skids that moved the canoe. And so the *pu-whenua* was dragged

along. But before Rua-wharo and his friends commenced to pull, all the fittings of the canoe were placed on board, and the command given to pull. When it reached the branch road to Te Pakaroa, the bows were directed along it and Rongo-patahi getting on to the canoe stood there reciting his *ngeri* [dragging song, here; generally a song to accompany the war-dance]. This is it.

A Canoe Dragging Song.

With one voice shout together!
Here am I in the inland direction—a!
Here am I in the seaward direction—a!
Then call aloud, over-stepping, step-uplifting.
What is the name of my skid?
'Tis 'Manu-tawhio-rangi'!
What is the name of my skid?
'Tis 'Manu-ka-tiu'!
To the sea—a!—
A! Lay it in the direction,
A! Lay it to the sea,
Lay it to the roaring sea,
Lay it to the murmuring sea,
A! Whose is this canoe? A! Whose is the canoe?
A! The canoe belongs to Tāne.[1]
A! Whose is the canoe?
A! 'Tis Tamatea-ariki-nui's canoe!
A! For what purpose is the canoe?
'Tis a canoe to carry gods!
A! Whose is the canoe?
A! For Rua-wharo is the canoe!
A! Whose is the canoe?
A! For me is the canoe, then follow up!
A! For me is the canoe, then follow up!

[1] Tāne, god of all woodwork, forests, birds, etc.

A! In the right direction lay the canoe and follow up!
A! Seaward be the direction of the canoe, follow up!

And now the *pu-whenua* flew along down to Te Pakaroa and there laid.

After the canoe had been completed with all its fittings, at the same time as others of 'the fleet,' a trial race was held, in which this canoe called Te Pu-whenua, or Takitimu, outdistanced all the others. It did not start on the long voyage until the remainder of 'the fleet' had sailed and reached a point some distance away.

Tamatea now said to his younger relatives [who were priests —or at least some of them were]: "O sons! Arouse Tawhiri-matea [God of Winds] and his family, that they may pull out the currents of Lady Ocean to Te Tiritiri-o-te-moana, to Aotea-roa [New Zealand]; that the bows of the canoe may quickly reach the shore." And then [the priests] called up Hau-a-roa, Huri-pari and Te Ahu-puke [names of Winds]; one day and one night were these Winds blowing, and then 'Te Pu-whenua' was taken on to the *turuma* at Titirangi, Hawaiki.

The following is the *karakia* used by Te Rongo-patahi to cause the east winds to blow, to make the ocean smooth for the canoe in its course to the south-west. [Some of this I am quite unable to translate]:

Hymn for a Fair Wind.

Here am I using the *uruuru-tipua*
And the *uruuru-tawhito*[1] of thine, O Tāne-the-Parent!
Of the parental stem, the origin, who cherished the
Toi-hua-rewa
And the Ara-tiatia[2] up to Te Uru-o-manono.
I recite, I recite the spell named Paroro-rangi.

[1] Both these expressions represent branches of knowledge contained in two of the 'baskets' of knowledge, of which some account was given in the first paper.

[2] The names of the way by which Tāne ascended to heaven.

Withdraw the plug of the wind 'Huru-rangi'!
That thou mayest come forth, dancing on the waves,
Dancing, moving, *tua-taniwaniwa.*
Light, light thy fire (on the waves),
The dancing fire, the fire that flies to heaven,
The carrying, the spreading fire,
As a way for thee, O Tawhiri-nuku! O Tawhiri-rangi![1]
Here is thy fire, the fire of Titi-matangi-nui,
With that of Titi-para-uriuri;[2]
Here lies thy way to the land, to Aotea-roa,
With the dragging current, the spreading current, the flat current,
The fleeing current, the over-stepping current, the descending current,
Direct to the land, to Aotea-roa.
. . . . . .
. . . . . . to the land
At Tiritiri-o-matangi (N.Z.).
Who then is my objective? O Tawhiri-matea (God of the Winds),
Thou, O Titi-o-matangi-nui and Titi-matangi-rea[2]
And Titi-matakaka![2]
Bestride the earth, bestride the heavens before me
And finally rest on the front of the land,
At Tiritiri-o-te-moana.

The gods were brought down from Kohurau—which is a cave. It was Rongo-patahi and Rua-wharo who fetched them, and placed them on board 'Te Pu-whenua.'

Now, when 'Te Pu-whenua' was taken to the *turuma* of Titirangi, it was so done, that the invocations over the canoe might be *tapu*, and in order that [the emblems of the gods] 'Kahu-kura,' 'Rongomai' and 'Tama-i-waho' might come on

[1] Variations of the name of Tawhiri-matea, god of the winds.
[2] Names for winds.

board the canoe, for they were exceedingly *tapu atuas* [gods]. When these preparations had been completed, the gods came [*i.e.* were brought] to Titirangi, and then the particular thwarts in the canoe were assigned to each man.

Here a list is given of the names, in order, of the men posted at the different thwarts. They were accompanied by their relatives, men, women and children.

After the thwarts had been appropriated by the crew and the names given, an assignment of the various duties connected with the two sails, the bailing places and those to take charge of the anchors was made.

There follows a detailed description of the different parts of the canoe and the implements belonging to it.

So the gods were brought away and also the two celebrated axes, 'Te Awhio-rangi' and 'Whiro-nui.' These were very *tapu* axes, they were *toki-atua* [endowed with godlike powers], they were the axes with which were cut the props that support Rangi-e-tu-nei [the heavens] at Manga-nui-o-tawa, and at Hau-a-roa. [Te Awhio-rangi is so sacred that no white man has ever been allowed to see it. It is deposited in one of the sacred caves of the Nga-Raura tribe.] These things were all placed in the stern of 'Te Pu-whenua,' and subsequently the clothing, paddles, etc.; and Te Rongo-patahi [the chief priest] arose to say the consecrating *karakia* over 'Te Pu-whenua,' which had become its true name. This is it:

THE DEDICATION OF TAKITIMU.[1]

Now will I repeat my lay,
Drawn from ancient and god-like examples,
Overcoming earthly and heavenly powers,
By this descendant, by this disciple,

[1] Of this, Mr. Percy Smith writes: "There are some parts of the following *karakia* difficult to understand, but the general idea of appealing to the gods for help in their voyage is obvious." And this note applies, to a certain extent, to some parts of the other *karakias*.

Of thine, O Kahukura! O Tama-i-waho!
And of thine, O Tu-nui-a-te-ika, e—i![1]
May these powers this son empower,—
A true son, a faithful disciple,
A disciple of thine, O Rua-mano, e—i![1]
Of Rongomai, of Hine-korako,[1]—to this son,
A descendant of thine, O Tane-te-waiora, e—i!
Here am I. Grant, O grant the power
To this son of ancient, god-like lineage;
Even from the Rangi-tu-haha,[2] grant to this son, e—i!
Now let me enter into thy spirit.
I enter into all of you,
Into the ancients, into the gods, e—i!
Here is your ancient and god-like resting-place;
Here am I a traveller over lands,
A voyager over the ocean,
To Tiritiri-o-te-moana, to Aotea-rea (New Zealand);
Here am I directing my supplication.
By aid of the ancients of heaven and earth,
By aid of the ancients of ocean,
Direct thy course, and face this son,
. . . . . .
. . this son of yours, e—i.

Now do I recite my lay;
For the direction is clearly laid
On the course to the distant land,
An ancient course, of Tane-nui-a-rangi, e—i!
Thy canoe is a canoe of the ancient kind,
A canoe suitable for thee, O Kahu-kura![1]
And for you, O Tama-i-waho! O Tu-nui-a-te-ika![1]
O Tangaroa-Ocean-holder, e—i!

[1] Names of the gods whose emblems (often called idols) were taken on board the canoe.

[2] A name for all the heavens.

O Rua-mano! O Rongomai! O Hine-korako![1]
Your ways are over the ocean,
To Tiritiri-o-te-moana, to Aotea-roa, e—i!

Here I uplift my voice in prayer, e—i!
Whose is thy canoe? O ye Ancients of old!
O ye Gods!
'Tis the summit of the skies, of the ocean,
The summit of the land, e—i!
I now launch my canoe.
What is its name? 'Tis Takitimu, e—i!
Now I urge upwards my lay, e—i!
Emerge, emerge, thy bow above, e—i!
Emerge above the ocean horizon,
Over the ocean's breaking billows,
That thou mayest reach the desired land,
In the far distance, to Aotea-roa, e—i!
For thou art a consecrated canoe, a canoe of the ancients!
A canoe to convey the gods, e—i!

I uplift my voice in this lay, e—i!
I sing of Takitimu, my canoe,
A canoe of the gods, now parting
For the lands in the far distance, e—i!
Emerge, be buoyant thy great keel,
Above the waves of Lady Ocean, e—i!
Emerge, uplift thy bow above,
With a great and long uplifting,
As did the ancients, a powerful uplifting
By you all, O Kahukura, e—i!
Let her rest on the sea like the great albatross!

[1] Names of the gods whose emblems (often called idols) were taken on board the canoe.

I raise my voice in this my lay, e—i!
Emerge, uplift my canoe,
The Takitimu,
Over the ripples of the ocean,
O Tangaroa! O Kiwa-Ocean-overturner, e—i![1]
Here am I in spirit entering, as the ancients,
With the spirit of a god from the heavens, e—i!
Like a heaven-flying god, an earth-flying god,
A god, an ancient traversing the ocean, e—i!

I raise to above my lay, e—i!
Bear up from below ye *tipuas*,[2]
Ye gods of the sharp sands,—
From the moving, the gushing sands, e—i!
Thy ways and mine are those of the ancients,—
An ocean way—a follower of thine, O Lady Ocean!
A way of the gods of the conjoint heavens,
A way of the gods of earth,
To the desired and distant land at Aotea-roa, e—i!

O Tangaroa Ocean-holder! O Ruamano!
Descend below here under the canoe, e—i!
With striding steps, steps uplifting, emerging steps,
Lifting up that the canoe may rest,
As a canoe of the ancients, a canoe of old,
A canoe of thy offspring, a canoe of the gods.
A very sacred canoe is my 'Takitimu'
Even to the summit of the heavens—e!
By whom shalt thou move forward—e?
By Tangaroa-the-great-Spouter,
By Tangaroa-Ocean-holder, *mourei!*

[1] Kiwa, the other god of ocean.

[2] *Tipua*, a name which includes many things, but here means the tani-whas, or monsters, also whales, which accompanied and guarded the canoe on her voyage.

With great and lord-like efforts, *mourei*—e !
With great wave-climbing powers, *mourei*—e !
Bear up then from below—e !
Ye ocean-monsters, *mourei*—e !
Uplift, emerge, *mourei*—e !
Who are ye that help us along ?
The school of whales, *mourei*—e !
Who is now assisting our canoe ?
The whales of ocean, *mourei*—e !
Embrace her, hold fast, *mourei*—e !
Open up thy way, an ocean way, *mourei*—e !
With striding steps, uplifting steps,
To the land that fronts us, *mourei*—e !
Sweep, sweep away the breakers to a distance,
Open out my way, *mourei*—e !
O Ruamano ! Come and drag her along, *mourei*—e ![1]
O Arai-te-uru ! Come to our help, *mourei*—e ![1]
With a lasting, shaking pull, straight away,
To the desired land—*mourei*—e !

When the invocation was ended, Takitimu floated on the water. The people then embarked, men, women and children; the uncooked food was placed on board, brought from several caves. There was no cooked food allowed on board, for it was a *tapu* canoe. [The Scribe tells me the food on these long voyages was largely dried fish, whilst water was carried in seaweed bags which were towed overboard during the night to keep the water cool.]

There follows a story of a school of whales, which, by the force of the above incantation, swam with the vessel and guided it to New Zealand. It is not difficult to see how such a legend may have originated. The

[1] Names of the gods whose emblems (often called idols) were taken on board the canoe.

concluding part of this chapter, with its *karakia*, was quoted in the last paper. It refers to the storm which overtook Te Takitimu and the calming of the waves by the spells of the priests and the sacred axes.

The narrative is continued in the two succeeding and final chapters of the volume. These give a few details of the voyage, with a fuller account of the landing of Takitimu in New Zealand and of the subsequent fortunes of the occupants of this and the other canoes of 'the fleet.' And so ends the second volume of the most remarkable record of 'primitive' mystery-lore that has yet come to light.

H. C. CORRANCE.

[In a recent letter from his son we are informed that Mr. S. Percy Smith, the fine Maori scholar to whom we owe these translations, passed away some three years ago.—ED.]

A NEW BACKGROUND FOR THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

In the October number for 1923 I published a translation of the Proem to the Fourth Gospel, influenced greatly by a close study of the recent versions of the Mandæan *John-Book* and *Liturgies* by Prof. Mark Lidzbarski.[1] I did this to illustrate my conviction that the Proem was the over-working of a 'source,' and that this source was impregnated with some of the fundamental notions which characterized the Mandæan tradition. I said nothing as to the rest of the gospel; for until Lidzbarski's version of the remaining oldest and most important collection of the Mandæan scriptures, known as the *Sidra Rabbā* ('Great Book') or *Genzā* ('Treasury'), was available, I judged it better to keep silent.

This tentative indication of a new background for the Fourth Gospel has now been methodically substantiated by Prof. Rudolf Bultmann of Marburg, in a very remarkable, fully documented and convincing study, which has just appeared.[2]

[1] It was reprinted, in revised form, in October, 1924, with an introduction linking it up with the main matter of my collection of pieces and studies, entitled *The Gnostic John the Baptizer: Selections from the Mandæan John-Book, together with Studies on John and Christian Origins, the Slavonic Josephus' Account of John and Jesus, and John and the Fourth Gospel Proem* (Watkins).

[2] '*Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandäischen und manichäischen Quellen für das Verständnis des Johannes-evangeliums*,' published in May of this year in the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Bd. 24, Hft. 1/2), Giessen, Töpelmann. This admirable exposition is a small treatise in itself; it consists of 46 pages, 33 of which, giving the parallels, are in very small print. In it we are given the detailed working-out of a Lecture delivered by Professor Bultmann on Oct. 25, 1923.

The main contention of this important contribution to Christian origins is that the true historic background of the leading notions of the writer of the Fourth Gospel is neither Hellenistic nor Jewish. To understand them we must familiarize ourselves with a great pre-Christian Oriental (fundamentally Irano-Babylonian) myth, the outline and genesis of which have of recent years become clearer by a number of converging lines of research. In the first place, we have Lidzbarski's translations of the Mandæan sources. And here Prof. Bultmann has been fortunate enough to have placed at his disposal, by the kindness of Lidzbarski, the proof-sheets of his *Genzā*-version, which should by now be in our hands. In the second, and chiefly, we have Reitzenstein's important researches, which have made clear the great value of these texts, and especially the historic importance of the Salvation-myth in them, in this following up Bousset's pioneer comparative use of the documents (previously summarized by Brandt) in his *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (1907). But apart from the Mandæan and new-found direct Manichæan sources, Bultmann has also made use, in his parallels, of the Jewish wisdom-literature, the Odes of Solomon, and Gnostic texts, such especially as are found in the Apocryphal Acts of John and Thomas. The main features of this Salvation-myth as recovered from all these sources are as follows:

The Messenger who descends from heaven, brings to the soul imprisoned on earth revelation concerning its origin, its home and its return thither. The Messenger appears in earthly, human garments, but ascends in robes of glory. This soteriologic myth is paralleled by a cosmologic. The figure of the Messenger corresponds to that of the heavenly Primal Man, who

in the beginnings descended from the heaven-world into matter and became overpowered and imprisoned by it. While the figure of the Messenger was assimilated to that of the Primal Man, in his earthly manifestation he appeared as imprisoned and afflicted. His ascension, however, is at the same time his own salvation: he is the Saviour who is saved. Again, the destiny of the Primal Man is no other than that of the individual soul. The salvation of the souls is the liberation of the Primal Man, and therewith the end of the material world, whose existence and duration were made possible though the bondage of the light-elements of the Primal Man in chaotic matter. Accordingly, in last resort, the destiny of the Messenger and of the soul is one of interrelation. Indeed the Messenger is nothing else than a likeness of the Primal Man, an image of the soul, who recognizes herself in him. Hence it is not possible in all the texts clearly to decide who is the subject of discourse, whether it is the Primal Man or the Messenger or the soul. But for this reason also it is possible according to circumstances to use texts treating either of the Primal Man or the Messenger in sketching the picture of the latter for an approximate understanding of the figure of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel.

There follows a series of most striking parallels from the relevant literature to texts of the gospel in Greek (with many subordinate references), classified under twenty-eight main headings. These arresting captions are:

1. The Revealer is the eternal Divine Being who was in the Beginning.
2. He was sent into the World by the Father.
3. He has come into the World.

4. He is therewith One with the Father.
5. The Father has armed him with full Authority.
6. He possesses Life and bestows Life.
7. He leads out of Darkness into Light.
8. The paired Concepts Life and Death, Light and Darkness, correspond in the Fourth Gospel as the pair Truth and Lie in the collated Literature.
9. The Messenger is without Fault and Falsehood.
10. He does the Works which his Father has enjoined upon him.
11. In Discourses of Revelation he speaks of his own Person ('I am').
12. He knows his own, and they know him.
13. He gathers them together or chooses them; they are or become his own.
14. To the Powers of this World the Messenger appears as a Stranger; they do not know his Parentage, for he is of another Origin than they.
15. The Hearts of the Hearers of the Proclamation are hardened against him.
16. The Messenger is abandoned in the World and hated.
17. As he came, he will depart; as he descended, he will ascend.
18. Then will he be sought for, but not found.
19. He will be 'justified' by his Ascension.
20. The Messenger at his Departure prays for his Own.
21. As Saviour the Messenger carries the Saved with him.
22. He prepares a Dwelling for his Own.
23. He has shown his Own the Way, or prepared it for them.
24. He is the Door.
25. He sets free the Prisoners.
26. His Ascent to Heaven is the World-catastrophe.
27. He is the Judge.
28. He is the Son of Man.

From these very abundant and inescapable parallels, it results clearly, according to Bultmann, and we entirely agree with him, that this Salvation-myth is presupposed in the Fourth Gospel. Even if the sources which

attest the myth, should be found to be later than the gospel, the myth itself is unquestionably older. No one who studies these texts, however, can believe that this many-branched and multiform mythology, with its consistent unity of basic thought, has been developed from the gospel. The myth is the *prius*. The question as to what are the ruling ideas under which it has found a place in the Fourth Gospel may be provisionally deferred. The myth is the *prius*. This holds as well in respect to Jewish apocalyptic, which certainly takes over figures from this myth, though it leaves aside the fundamental anthropology. This holds also for the Odes of Solomon, which are from a literary standpoint older, but as to content younger, than the cult-poetry of the Mandæans. With it the Odes belong, but they have lost connection with the cultus (essentially at least), in which the myth once naturally stood as the faith of a pious community.

Prof. Bultmann had already in 1923 set forth his reasons for believing that as far as the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel is concerned, it is dependent on a written source, as I also, quite independently, have tried to indicate, and that this source originally treated of the Baptizer John as the incarnate Son of God and Revealer.[1] Independently from Rendel Harris, whose *Origin of the Prologue of St. John's Gospel* (1917), he had at the time of writing not seen, Bultmann tries to

[1] Following out a vague reference to the *Gunkelfestschrift*, I find that Parts I. and II. of Vol. XIX. (New Series) of *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur der Alten und Neuen Testaments* (Göttingen, 1923, edited by Bultmann and Gunkel) were devoted to a series of papers by his pupils and friends in honour of Gunkel's 60th birthday, under the title: '*Εὐχαριστήριον*: *Studien zur Religion und Literatur d. A. u. N. Testaments.*' Bultmann's contribution occupies the first 26 pages of Pt. II. and is entitled: '*Der religionsgeschichtliche Hintergrund des Prologs zum Johannes-Evangelium*' ('The Background of the Prologue to the Johannine Gospel from the standpoint of Comparative Religion'). I found the pages of the copy in the British Museum uncut.

show that the Proem is dependent on the Wisdom-speculation literature in general, and the Logos-concept in particular on a Jewish Hellenistic source, yet not specifically Philo. But, after referring to the Mandæan literature and to the researches of Bousset and Reitzenstein, he adds (p. 19) that without question this Wisdom-speculation underlying the Prologue is not of Jewish origin. The figure of Wisdom and her myth is not to be explained on Jewish premises. It points rather to Iranian notions. Later on (p. 29), he declares that this general supposal is mediated by the special hypothesis that the whole Prologue (Jn. i. 1-18) has been taken over from a Baptist document. The evangelist is responsible only for vv. 6-8 and 15 (17) and some other additions. In it their hero has been wrested from the Baptists; what they say of him is now maintained of Jesus, and John is made a witness for him. Bultmann, therefore, concludes that, if his conjecture is correct, the Fourth Gospel becomes in a quite new sense a proof of the extraordinarily early penetration of Oriental Gnostic speculation into early Christianity.

He now claims, suggestively, this can also be shown from many other passages in the Gospel. The Baptist source consisted of revelation-discourses of the same nature more or less as appears, for instance, in some of the Odes of Solomon. Apart from this parallel source, however, which requires further special research, a study of the Mandæan texts cannot fail to bring out in general the strong relationship in style between their discourses and those in the Fourth Gospel.

Moreover, in considering the doctrinal phenomena and characteristic spirit of the composition of the Fourth Gospel, there is little doubt that there is

a distinctive religious community behind the scenes. The problem then that forces itself upon us, is whether this circle was some other than or nothing else but the Mandæan community itself. This raises the immensely important question of the date that can be assigned to the earliest specific Mandæan beginnings.

The agreement of the Mandæan texts with the Marcosian and Valentinian Gnosis (first half of second century) in the use of characteristic technical terms shows that the origin of the Mandæans must be given an earlier date than can be ascribed to the existing literature. Though Bultmann does not think that Reitzenstein has made out his case for finding in the Synoptic gospels traces of the influence of the oldest deposits worked into our present Mandæan literature, he nevertheless holds it to be exceedingly probable that the origin of the Mandæans is to be ascribed to no other than the Baptizing sect which arose from the activity of John the Baptizer in the Jordan. Personally, I am inclined to believe that there was a literary tradition of some sort at the back of John himself.

However that may be, Prof. Bultmann's view is that factual and linguistic considerations make for the conclusion that the Mandæan Baptist sect arose from Judaism and took its departure from the Jordan. Jordan is the holy river *par excellence* and the heavenly rivers of life are called Jordans. The Mandæan hatred of Jewry,—for with them the Jews are accounted as those who have fallen away from the primal revelation and have rejected the divine Messenger,—and their attitude to Jerusalem, whose destruction is held to be the sign of the final judgment, seem to be understandable only on such a supposition of origin; so that the date of their beginnings is in all probability to be

placed prior to 70 A.D. Mandæanism is, therefore, to be treated as a parallel manifestation and development alongside of primitive Christianity. If we could obtain a clearer picture of the Essenes, we might perhaps make further advance in this direction.

Such considerations and others, some of which I have myself indicated, make it appear exceedingly probable that the John the Baptist movement played a far more important part in the origins of Christianity than we have been previously led to believe. Not only so, but a quite new problem arises which may be most sharply formulated by saying that we have to reckon with the probability that Johannine Christianity, that is to say the Fourth Gospel, represents an older type than that of the Synoptics.

This revolutionary hypothesis in Christian origins and New Testament criticism will doubtless meet with the most violent opposition. As far as my own small suggestions in this direction are concerned, they have met either with entire neglect or produced notices which show clearly that the reviewers have had no notion of the exceedingly important problems involved in a study of the Mandæan tradition. Now, however, that the problem has been clearly formulated by a recognized authority on New Testament studies and published in a scientific form, the issue can be evaded only by intentional silence, though the uncut pages of the B.M. copy of Bultmann's first sketch warns us not to be too impatient. Nevertheless we look forward to an intensified study of Mandæanism, at any rate on the Continent,[1] which cannot but be of general advan-

[1] In a final note before going to press Bultmann informs us that in the second edition of W. [Walter] Bauer's *Kommentar zum Joh.-Ev.*, which had just been published, this well-known commentator on the N.T. has also utilized the Mandæan and Manichæan parallels; he welcomes this as in the main confirmatory of his own researches.

tage; for, from whatever point of view it is envisaged, it is a rich mine to work. We hope in the next two numbers to make the wealth of parallels between the relevant literature and the Fourth Gospel, collected by Prof. Bultmann's praiseworthy industry, accessible to readers of THE QUEST.

G. R. S. MEAD.

AN HYPOTHESIS OF APPARITION.

INSTANCES of apparition are too numerous and credible to be regarded as unauthentic. There are few families without a ghost-story in their records, though many in these materialistic days are a trifle ashamed of owning such skeletons in the cupboard.

The last century was apt to regard all such tales solely as legends engendered by a sensitive imagination; but the progress of science in the present century opens a door to explanations that can be credited without ridicule, and believed, or rejected, as fancy dictates.

Recent years have marked a great change in public opinion on many subjects. This has not been accomplished without a mighty upheaval; and even to-day the confusion of thought can be characterized as still chaotic. Though the beliefs and prejudices of the past are dying rapidly, they still retain considerable vitality on account of the grains of spiritual truth upon which they were founded, but which have been buried so deeply by centuries of materialistic thought that only the most persevering research can serve to bring them once more to light.

The picture-puzzle is a good illustration of how something that is perfectly visible may yet remain hidden. The truth-seeker will find such a puzzle a good guide in prosecuting his research into the *raison d'être* of apparition. The outline of the object

to be discovered is blended with casual details of the picture, and thus remains lost to all but the persistent seeker. In order to discover the object, it is necessary to disregard *appearances* and study the picture from many different points of view. A close study of one aspect may reveal what appears to be the hidden object, and yet it does not satisfy. It seems crude, and therefore breeds a suspicion that the correct solution has yet to be discovered.

So it is with instances of apparition. The student should guard against preconceived opinion limiting him to an examination of only one aspect. In a world of personalities the main line of enquiry into the causes of apparition will be directed towards the possibility that personality survives death. This cramps the vision and leads to unsatisfactory solutions.

Thought is creative, and the power generated by the thought of uncountable numbers of minds directed, for centuries of time, towards the survival of personality, becomes a predominantly suggestive factor when dealing with cases of apparition.

Man, it has generally been believed, was made in the image of his Maker, and must therefore reflect the attributes of Deity. Now the slightest ripple on a reflecting surface will distort the images upon it; while any serious upheaval will cause the reflections to lose all semblance to their originals. If we then assume man's brain to be such a reflecting surface, it will be obvious that the attributes of Deity, although reproduced in man, may have been so altered in appearance that their real values are unrecognizable.

The creative power makes itself manifest in works of art, literature or music. But these are only external signs of a gift common to the whole of humanity, and

whose expression varies with the intensity of the individual imagination.

Every personality must form a mental picture of itself, which is no doubt modified by its thoughts of other personalities with whom it comes into contact. This 'thought-construct' may develope in harmony with its parent-personality; moreover, when it has reached a certain degree of strength, it may even be capable of detachment from the objective form under certain favourable conditions, and may cover great distances with the speed of thought in order to manifest some purpose to clairvoyant vision.

This hypothesis might account for reported cases of phantasms of the living, and for recorded instances of those who, at the moment of death, have appeared to dearly loved relatives or friends. Such a thought-construct might conceivably persist after the death of its parent personality, if nourished by the thoughts of those who had known the latter in earth-life.

The 'life' of the form would depend upon the vividness of the memory which it left on earth, and would fluctuate in proportion to the strength of the thought-stream centred upon it. The thought-construct of some well-known and remembered personality might thus remain earth-bound for many centuries, gradually fading as the memory of its original's earthly deeds faded from men's memory.

It might well be argued that such constructs, since they have no life of their own, could not successfully pose as their originals and communicate through mediums, giving accurate memories of earth-life and experiences after death. The suggestion, however, is not unreasonable. If it is possible to reproduce the forms of those who have died upon the cinematograph,

and their thoughts upon the gramophone, the possibility that higher intelligences might reproduce both more perfectly in the thought-world must be admitted.

This hypothesis of apparition may doubtless seem extremely unsatisfactory to those who derive great comfort and help from the belief that they can establish communication with the actual spirits of their loved ones through the help of sensitives or by means of their own psychic powers,—and yet it does not necessarily oppose such a belief. It professes simply to offer another, and a too generally neglected, aspect of a large and complicated field of study. As such, it is, to say the least, worthy of consideration.

(Major) R. P. MORRISON.

A VISION OF THE WAR.

DURING the winter of the year 1913, while staying at the little town of Lewes in Sussex, an incident occurred which has ever since remained for me mysterious and inexplicable.

One night I decided to take a walk along a road that stretches away into the country, with the South Downs on one hand and the plain of the Weald on the other.

The night was clear and frosty with the moon at the full. The pure and bracing air made it a pleasure to step out, so that it was already near to midnight before I turned to go home.

I met no one; and there was not a sound to break the stillness around me. As I came to a spot in the road where it passed through a dark wood, I seemed to see myriads of shining swords pouring out of the moonlight up above me; and as they fell on the hard and frozen way the blades sounded like bells in a steeple.

The sound echoed in my ears all the way back, intermingled with a refrain that came to me on the stillness of the night air; and on reaching home I hastily wrote out the following lines:

Under the steel-woven banner of the stars
Through frost and fire of all the travelling years
Much hate is gathered and great sign of wars.
Martial, flute-wise, precipitant and shrill,

Thin flames of wrath no iron force can quell,
Cry out for death. With death, will all be well?
Under the frozen sword-lights of the sky
Through frost and fire of all the travelling years
The Wheel of hard Necessity rolls by.
Hunger and keen winds blowing o'er decay
Speak like sharp knives, then flash and find a way
To cut the thread of slow monotony
And crush the circle of the Night and Day.
Keen fifes of war that edge the biting blast
Through frost and fire of all the travelling years,
Thin sounds that set the swift blood circling fast,
The cry of Fire and Iron, to break the fears
That stand against the tidal march of wars
Wrought from great waters gathered through the years!
Space is enkindled, famine lies around.
Let sound the horn of dire Necessity!
A million march like stars that know not why.
No reason for this thing shall e'er be found,
No pretext for pale Peace; but lurid War
To all who ask and wish to know wherefor,
Crystal and clear rings out the right reply:
"This is the finger of Fatality."

It was not until the end of the War that I noticed how the whole event might well seem a revelation; and so I have decided to leave the lines as they were without any retouching.

BARNETT D. CONLAN.

SATISFIED.

So softly closes Winter o'er the land
As might some placid watcher silent stand
Beside a fevered sleeper's restless couch
And move the curtain's shade with gentle hand.

Yet naught of death is here; nor yet in sleep
Waiteth the Earth. In contemplation deep
She views the mystery of Wisdom-Love
Revealed of old her quiet soul to keep.

Nature stands watching, but not anxiously;
While hills rise eagerly as if to see
And rooks talk soberly of solemn things,
She looks, o'er life in pause, for what shall be.

Glad reaping-days came heralded with blast
Of mighty winds, and unto earth were cast
All fruits unworthy. Harvest pageantry
O'er-rode the growing time of Summer past

And, moving onward, now has left behind
Beauty and desolation intertwined,
The soul-hushed stillness of the passing year
Veiling the scene with shadow undefined.

Only the trees, in dignified retreat
Enclosed apart, stand graciously to greet
Winter's approach. In subtle sympathy
These share Earth's wordless thought divine and sweet.

Not theirs to question aught, nor doubt, nor stay,
As, one by one, their bright leaves fall away.
Theirs the good gift of privilege to know
The day's content sufficient for the day.

Bright Angel, whose beautiful friendship has guided
me all through life's year,
Now that twilights are lengthening round and the
strangely mysterious stir
Preluding the silence of Winter is moving in heart and
in brain,
To the shelter of thy dear presence I turn; where never
I turned in vain
For the cool sweet shade of thy answering smile 'mid
the heat of Summer hours,
Or the glad repose of thy reasoned strength 'neath the
guile of the soft Spring showers.
Why heed, though the Autumn, departing, from orchard
and meadow-land take
All I have made of the harvest,—or all I have failed to
make,—
While Love that enfoldeth creation hath given like
charge unto thee
And thy wonderful waiting enfoldeth just all that is
left of me?
Among treasured things falling around me is naught
I would seek to regain.
They are gone; yet in Love's revolution not one have
I treasured in vain,
But in grace of the gladness thou givest, at one with
the Winter and Thee,
Do I wait for the final transplanting,—dear Guardian,
how willingly!—
To thy park-land of full understanding; like trees
where they rise from the sod
To stand, in their beautiful nakedness, glad in the
Presence of God.

M. Douglas.

TRAPPED.

MADDENED with fear, his startled eyes
  Turned to the grey, unheeding skies.
The tortured beast, with piteous cries,
  In agony of torment lies.

Wearily, slowly, the hours drag past.
  Fiercely he struggles; then, still held fast,
Worn out with anguish he lies at last,
  Quaking with cold in the wintry blast.

With hunger and pain his eyes grow dim,
  As the cold, grey dawn breaks over him,
Striving to free the tortured limb
  From the cruel jaws that prison him.

All through the long and weary day,
  Till evening comes with its shadows grey,
Weakened by every laboured breath,
  Writhing with anguish he waits for death.

And none comes near or knows his pain;
  Till spent at length his struggles cease,
As through the darkness and the rain
  Death comes at last to bring release.

C. E. R. SAUNDERS.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

The Mystery-Religions and Christianity.

By S. Angus, Ph.D., D.Lit., D.D. London (Murray); pp. xvi.+357; 15s. net.

From the Antipodes comes a very important contribution to the study of the Mysteries which swayed the ancient world for more than one thousand years, and which have exercised a deep influence on the religion of the West and left lasting traces, especially upon the sacramentarianism of the Church. Much has been written of late with the intention of elucidating the tenets and practices of these ancient Mysteries, which seem to have come to life at a special critical period in the history of human faith. The scant fragments left by the fanaticism of the monks are now piously gathered up, and many a scholar is endeavouring to decipher the ancient script left upon the silent monuments of a great religious movement. It is not an easy task to piece these fragments together and read the legend aright. Preconception, imperfect preparation, bias and the desire of proving theories evolved independent of facts, have often warped the judgment and presented the ancient Mysteries in a false light. The author of this study, however, may claim that he has thoroughly prepared himself for the task. He has read widely and deeply; and whilst he has kept his reasoning clear, his heart has gone out in sympathy for that religious yearning and groping for light and truth, and that indefinable desire for salvation and immortality so characteristic of the Mystery-religion. Unlike others, he has not attempted to describe each of the forms separately. He has wisely recognized their unity in diversity; and so out of the mass of evidence hitherto accumulated he has been able to give us a description of the Mysteries in their essential features by retaining those which, up to a certain point, are common to most of them. After giving the reader an orientation showing the background fronting which the Mysteries arose, he defines, in the first place, the character of the Mystery-religion, making its origin start with pastoral life and the observation of the alternation of

life and death in natural phenomena. Be this as it may; for this view is open to difference of opinion. The subsequent definitions of the essential features of a Mystery-religion are next given with full knowledge of the facts. Dr. Angus then describes the three stages of the Mystery: (1) Preparation; (2) Initiation; and (3) Blessedness. The appeal which the Mysteries thus made to the imagination and faith of the people was very great indeed; yet did they contain in themselves the germ of disintegration and final decay. The most important cause was, on the one hand, the want of ethical principles and, on the other, the vagueness of the doctrines. The appearance of the Jew on the stage of the Græco-Roman world, with his open Synagogue, and with the Bible in his hand, was the chief cause of the destruction of the Mystery-religion system. Christianity then followed in the wake of Judaism and, according to our author, completed or rather achieved the final victory. Here, whilst we greatly appreciate the scholarship and the care with which the Mystery-religion conception is presented by Dr. Angus, his presentation suffers from the one defect inseparable from the tendency of its composition. A contrast is to be definitely brought out between Christianity and these Mystery-religions, which are treated, as it were, only as a background to the beginnings of Christianity. Unconsciously, perhaps, this tendency has coloured to some extent the character of the book, and so makes one hesitate in accepting the conclusions drawn by the author. Is Paganism to be identified with Mystery-religion; and does the passing away of Paganism signify the disappearance of the latter? Again, did either Paganism or the Mystery-religion yield at once to the onslaught of Christianity? Surely this has not been the case; for much of the Mystery-religion has survived in the Church, and in many of the so-called heretical practices as well as in popular lore. Transformation and adaptation have to a large extent taken place; and it is in the perusal of just such a book as the present that one is able to recognize these transparent metamorphoses. Despite this conclusion and dissent as to the apparent final disappearance of the Mystery-religions, Dr. Angus' book is unquestionably one of the best on the ancient Mysteries; it can be warmly recommended to anyone interested in their study. A bibliography covering no less than thirty-five closely printed pages, containing a list of modern authorities and chief relevant ancient sources, greatly enhances its value.

M. GASTER.

HERMETICA.

The Ancient Greek and Latin Writings which contain Religious or Philosophical Teachings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus. Edited with English Translation and Notes by Walter Scott. Vol. II. Notes on the Corpus Hermeticum. Oxford (The Clarendon Press); pp. 482; 25s. n.

IN the last number we gave a provisional estimate of the value of Vol. I. of the late Walter Scott's edition of the surviving Trismegistic literature, which contained his Introduction, Text and Translation. A perusal of Vol. II. only confirms the disappointment we unfortunately felt bound to express after reading with care the first volume. We expected to find in the Notes on the Corpus some sufficient reasons for the very large number of violent alterations, dislocations and transpositions of the text which Scott has permitted himself to make. But in nine cases out of ten we can find little justification for his 'emendations' and in no instance any reason for his dislocations and transpositions. One has the uncomfortable feeling that the late scholar somewhat fancied his own Greek of the schools, and enjoyed correcting compositions of undergraduates who had been bidden to 'put this into Greek after the manner of Plato.' No one will deny that the Trismegistic treatises have been heavily 'philosophized'; and if so, they naturally reflect, as most writings of Alexandrian provenance, Platonic and Stoic *diction*. To fill pages with Platonic and Stoic parallels to prove this is quite unnecessary; Scott, however, does so in the belief that he has thereby demonstrated the Platonic and Stoic *origin* of all the leading *ideas* of the Trismegistic gnosis. This is assuredly not the case; the whole history of opinion, both in Patristic days and in the period of the renaissance of Trismegistic study from the beginning of the 16th century to the present, is opposed to such an extremely characteristic Greek view. The 'genesis' is not Platonic, much less Stoic, however 'platonically' and 'stoically' it has been clothed upon. What we chiefly deplore is the cavalier way in which Scott has waved aside all the work done by those who have preceded him in the field. Points of the greatest importance, suggestions that demand the most serious attention, are not even referred to. The development of Reitzenstein's researches, in which he has transferred the centre of interest from Egypt to Iran, might be non-existent as far as Scott's Notes are concerned. In particular, the capital

sermons on Cosmogony and Gnosis of God ('The Poimandrēs,' I.) and on the Mystic Re-birth (XIII.) are dealt with without any signs of insight and made quite commonplace. Why again our author should rechristen the tractates with the jejune term *libellus*, when the Greek is *lógos* and the Latin *sermo*, is difficult to understand. Scott summarily rejects the traditional meaning of *Poimandrēs*. It is not sufficiently up to his standard of academical philology, and therefore cannot mean 'Man-Shepherd' or 'Shepherd of Men.' Yet Sermo XIII. § 19 most clearly states that such was the meaning. We frankly prefer the Pœmandrist's interpretation of the most honoured name in his vocabulary to the scepticism of the last editor of the Trismegistric writings. And indeed why not? It fits the context like a glove; and beyond that, there is the *Anthropos*-doctrine embedded in the cosmogony, and that connects up with the Eastern parallels, and above all with the Mandæan tradition which sets forth for us so eloquently the Saga of the Shepherd of Souls. The Trismegistic gnosis is a strongly 'philosophized' form of the Gnosis; but it is the Gnosis fundamentally. Therefore it must be treated within that wide field of reference. Scott's endeavour to remove it from that field is a swimming against the stream of all the most recent researches; it leads nowhere. As Philo 'philosophized' Jewish tradition, so some, if not all, of the writers of the Hermetic treatises 'philosophized' on a 'Persian'-Egyptian background. And this, as far as the Egyptian element is concerned, is categorically affirmed by Jamblichus. Nor is the 'philosophic' element in Trismegisticism as apart from the 'gnostic' a new subject of research, as Scott might lead the unskilled reader to suppose,—for already Heinrici and Kroll have sufficiently treated that side of the enquiry.

The Ethics of India.

By E. Washburn Hopkins, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Sanskrit, Yale University. London (Humphrey Milford); pp. 265; 14s. net.

When in the pages of this Quarterly (Oct., 1928), the present writer criticized very adversely Mr. Mackenzie's *Hindu Ethics*, he did not expect so soon to be able to commend with equal warmth another work on the same subject. In his preface Prof. Hopkins makes a mild protest against the attitude of Mr. Mackenzie, and in the text there are some stronger expressions which probably

refer to his work. Dr. Hopkins' book is otherwise an entirely independent production, and as a whole provides the most desirable form of refutation of Mr. Mackenzie's main attitude, in that it brings forward the material in some detail for a different judgment, recognizing the moral wealth of Hindu life and thought.

Dr. Hopkins' treatment is on historical lines. Instead of deducing for himself what appear to be the ethical or non-ethical implications of the various philosophical systems, he surveys the actual available details of the moral practice and ethical precepts of the period or particular literature. His references to philosophical theories are incidental. Such is the only method by which a true impression is to be obtained of the moral life of the Hindus. The author says that there has never been any systematic study of ethics in India: that is perhaps a matter of degree, for in any case there is ample material treating of the subject, psychologically, sociologically, metaphysically. A treatment along systematic, as distinct from historical, lines is long overdue.

Whether from their orthodox acceptance as inspired writings or their intrinsic merits, the *Vedas* must always exercise an influence upon Hindu thought. In them moral conduct is clearly related with the right order of the universe: it is *ṛita*, the fit. Right conduct is also the straight, as wrong is the crooked; light as contrasted with darkness. A divine power, like the sun, if not the Sun-god, watches with unwinking eye. There is also a distinct personal note about the ethics of the Vedas. "What lover of the God is now enjoying his friendship?" This "love of God," says Dr. Hopkins, "is a commonplace in Vedic phraseology." Man loves the Gods, and the Gods love man. The attitude of the worshipper is "intimate and familiar to a degree unknown in any other ancient religion." Although the author gives a separate chapter to Vedic Ideas of Sin and Law, it must not be supposed that the judgment of and anger at sin dominates so as to give a negative attitude to morality. Nevertheless the need, and presumably the reality, of divine pardon was felt: "O God Varuna, do thou loosen from us such sin and remove it, and may we be dear to thee." The Gods will help men. "Help us, all ye Gods; may I not get into any sin." The *Atharvaveda* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, although suggesting an increase in formal ritualism, show something of a change in moral emphasis: "The Gods are more rarely besought to forgive: man purifies himself." Fasting and penances of various kinds are resorted to for expiation of wrong. Other

aspects of religious ceremony have a moral import: the cult of fire became a spiritual act symbolic of truthfulness.

With reference to the philosophical literature, beginning with the *Upanishads*, Dr. Hopkins rightly maintains that "it is not the paucity of moral teaching that is striking, but the fact that ethical instruction is found at all. For in this philosophy, ethics is taken for granted: the real questions are concerning metaphysics." In fact it is abundantly clear that the predominant Hindu attitude is that virtue is a necessity for the knowledge of God which they strive to attain and express. However much we may think that the rejection of the ethical is implied in many Hindu attempts to conceive the ultimate reality as one, that implication was rarely recognized or admitted. Dr. Hopkins is right in saying: "We must remember, what cannot be repeated too often, that God is never said to be free from good; but always He is 'free from all evil.'" The ethical thought of this period regards all virtue as a form of austerity, calling for sacrifice and strength of will; and further it places the quietist virtues in the position of highest eminence. Possibly with Mr. Mackenzie in view, the author remarks that it would be 'arrogant' to upbraid these thinkers for having no scheme of social service like those of modern social ideals. There can be no doubt whatever that the spirit of the teaching was pure and essentially ethical.

While in our opinion not doing anything like justice to the place of the *Mahābhārat* in relation to Hindu ethics, Dr. Hopkins nevertheless makes considerable use of it, and recognizes its importance. He notes therein the discussion of definite ethical problems, like that as to whether it is always sinful to tell a lie; and notes the tendency to the answer that truth may rightly give place to what is 'more beneficial,' should there be a conflict between it and other values. He might with advantage have brought out that the epic is a vast moral drama.

His book being entitled *Ethics of India*, Dr. Hopkins includes a chapter on Buddhistic ethics. Here he notes the absence of appeal to personal authority in Brahmanical ethics, and points out that from early times the ethical maxims and moral practice of Buddhists rested on the personal authority and influence of the Buddha. In its insistence on the nature of causality in human experience Buddhism denotes an advance in maintaining the part man must play in purifying himself. Buddhism is not rightly charged with thorough-going pessimism. The aim is not one of mere resignation but also of joy: "Cultivate that part of the

higher wisdom called joy." "The crowning glory of Buddhism is not the doctrine of non-injury, which early Brahmanism also teaches, but the inculcation of that devotion to man which leads to self-sacrifice."

Though it is true that the Brahmin and the Buddhist regarded this life as 'a trifle' in consideration of the possibility of thousands of re-births, it hardly seems correct to suggest that the teaching of the fundamental importance of one's duty to one's caste was first definitely insisted on by the 'religion taught by Krishna.' It ought to be mentioned that the interpretation of the *Bhagavadgītā* is open to much discussion. There is, however, much to be said for the author's view that it teaches the performance of the duty of one's station and devotion to Krishna as better than the *Jñāna-Yoga* practices of the way of contemplative knowledge. Communion with God is possible only for those who strive for moral rectitude: the ecstasy of devotion does not absolve a man from his ethical obligations.

By devoting a separate chapter to the consideration of the morally questionable in Hindu religious life, and entitling it 'Ethical Aberrations,' Prof. Hopkins gives these sometimes exaggerated factors their proportional place and true description. Perhaps through a bias of literary sources, he tends to represent the movements towards sexual licence as more Vaishnavite, but there seem reasons to believe that they are more pronounced among the 'Left-hand' Shakti sects of Shaivism, which may have arisen in part as a reaction against the ascetic austerities associated with Shaivism. Dr. Hopkins points to another type of aberration: that of exaggeration, a lack of control of the imagination in depicting the devotion to some particular virtue. He makes very little use of the moral tales of the Hindus in this book; but they give many examples of such *reductio ad absurdum* of moral conduct by an irrational extremism in regard to particular virtues.

In a final chapter the question of the estimation of the value of Hindu ethics is raised, but more or less dismissed. It is noted to what a great extent Hindu ethics developed in relation to life in villages and small towns, in conditions quite other than those of our own time, many centuries later, when social activities play so large a part in our life. He does not show much sympathy for the ritualistic side of Hindu life; but it may be asked if the predominance of the religious as distinguished from a secular view of morality would live long without it. It is indeed

a serious question whether the abandoning of forms and ceremonies of religion to so great an extent has not tended to promote secularism in the modern life of the West. The persistence of these sacred rites in India is perchance after all a picturesque manifestation of the fact that the abiding realities of religion are more important than the details of the transitory world of *saṁsāra*.

Prof. Hopkins' *Ethics of India* is an excellent book, which we hope will become well known in India and wherever Indian life and culture is studied.

ALBAN G. WIDGERY.

RELIGIONS OF THE EMPIRE.

A Conference of Some Living Religions within the Empire. Held at the Imperial Institute, London, September 22nd to October 3rd, 1924, under the Auspices of the School of Oriental Studies (University of London) and the Sociological Society. Edited by William Loftus Hare, Joint Honorary Secretary of the Conference. With an Introduction by Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., Ph.D. London (Duckworth); pp. 519; 16s. net.

WE congratulate Mr. Loftus Hare on the creditable way in which he has edited these multifarious Papers and Proceedings and above all on the expedition with which he has been able to bring them out. As a rule Transactions of Oriental Congresses and the like crawl into the light of print after the lapse of two or three years. Hard work as the editing must have been in ordering the matter and doubtless often the manner of some of the contributions by distinguished Orientals, we should have ourselves been less patient of queer-sounding phrases and been inclined to make a clean sweep of them throughout. But perhaps the occasional traces that are left of grappling with an alien tongue may serve to remind the reader of what was the chief virtue of the Conference,—namely, that every endeavour was made to get born believers to write of their several confessions. Christianity and Judaism were excepted, on the ground that they should in the West be too well known to require exposition at a Conference which wanted all the time at its disposal adequately to accommodate the other living religions of the Empire. The undertaking was undoubtedly a great success, for from beginning to end the large Conference hall was filled at all meetings of the session,

showing that keen interest was sustained throughout. And indeed there was much to learn; the expositions were generally good and in some cases of exceptional value. A novel feature of the gathering was the co-operation of the Sociological Society, all of whose speakers dealt ably with the psychological and sociological aspects of religion in its widest sense. Most of them vitalized their science with a commendable idealism and in some cases the diction fell little short of the poetry of prose. They meant what they were saying or reading and often suffused those utterances with a fine emotion. And this is not surprising when the list of speakers included such well-known names as those of Sir Francis Younghusband, Professors Patrick Geddes, J. Arthur Thomson and H. J. Fleure, and Mr. Victor Branford, not to mention the poetess Rachel Annand Taylor. Hinduism found exponents in two Indian Pandits, Mr. Shyam Shankar of Benares and Dr. D. K. Laddu of Poona. Islam was well catered for. Sunni doctrine was looked after by Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, who is well known in this country, and by Mustafa Khan of Lahore, and Shiah by Sheik Kadhim El Dojailly of Baghdad. Súfism was represented by a genuine Súfí, Hafiz Raushan Ali. But one of the most conspicuous features of the Conference was the continual sight of the green turbans of a dozen or more followers who had accompanied the present head of the Āhmaddhiyya movement which arose at Qadian (Panjab) some thirty years ago, when Mirza Ghulam Ahmad claimed among other high things to be the promised Messiah. The title of the present representative is Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din, Mahmad Ahmad, Khalifat-al-Masih. This startling claim did not lack enthusiastic setting forth and at length. Personally we were at the time somewhat apprehensive of tension, seeing that the Bahā'is, who make very high and somewhat similar claims for *their* Prophet, were also present and eloquent in the advocation of the supreme excellence of their way. There was, however, no word or even sign of impoliteness between the representatives of these two incompatabilities,—a somewhat remarkable event. Buddhism was well represented by Dr. W. A. de Silva and Mr. G. P. Malalasekara, both of Colombo, and Mr. Shoson Miyamoto of Tokyo. Zoroastrianism, Jainism and Sikhism were each well served by their respective representatives. Of Modern movements in India both the Brāhma Sāmaj and the Ārya Sāmaj were well expounded, the former by no less a person than Mr. N. Chunder Sen, son of the famous Keshub Chunder. From the far East, Confucianism, unfortunately, found no speaker,

but Mr. Hsü Ti-Shan, of Peking University, gave a quite remarkable sketch of Taoism. Nor did existing primitive religions go unrepresented, though of course of these a selection had to be made. Of this, by far the most interesting was the paper on 'Bantu Religious Ideas,' by Mr. Albert Thoka of Pietersburg, S. Africa. Those who are interested in modern Spiritualism should not fail to study it closely; they will be greatly surprised. Each section was presided over by a competent and sympathetic chairman who introduced the subject generally. The volume as a whole supplies the student of comparative religion with a very profitable 500 pages.

THE INDO-SUMERIAN SEALS DECIPHERED.

Discovering Sumerians of Indus Valley as Phœnicians, Barats, Goths and Famous Vedic Aryans—3100-2300 B.C. By L. A. Waddell, LL.D., C.B., C.I.E. With numerous Illustrations and Maps. London (Luzac); pp. 146; 10s. net.

IN the January number we reviewed Lt.-Col. Waddell's surprising volume, *The Phœnician Origin of Britons, Scots and Anglo-Saxons*. While we were by no means persuaded that he had established his revolutionary contention that the Phœnicians and Hittites were Aryans, we left open the possibility of the Sumerians being members of that wide-spread family of races. In the present volume our author confines his attention to this very important problem, and deals in detail with the very recent astonishing archæological 'finds' of ancient seals and other objects, in the valley of the Indus. These have been unearthed at Harappa above Mooltan and at Mohenjo Daro some 190 miles from the mouth of the great river, by Messrs. D. R. Sahni and R. D. Bannerji respectively, both of the Indian Archæological Survey. The strata in which these seals and other objects have been found lie far below the foundations of Buddhist buildings. There is no doubt that these priceless signet and amulet seals preserve a 'Sumerián'-like script,—Elamitic or something of that kind. But no Assyriologist has so far recognized it as 'Sumerian' proper. Dr. Waddell thinks the seals can be deciphered as pure Sumerian and proceeds to give translations of them. It is a question that experts alone can decide. The layman is here incompetent. If Dr. Waddell's versions are correct, the seals are to be placed in the third millennium B.C. In them thus we have striking testimony that at this early date there existed at least two

flourishing Sumerian colonies on the Indus in the closest official contact with Southern Mesopotamia. If this is confirmed, it evidently raises problems of the most far-reaching historical importance. It is well known that in the majority of cases scholars can read Sumerian names only conjecturally. Dr. Waddell now claims that the names of a number of the kings of the Sumerian dynasties can be paralleled by names from the Indian Epic and Paurānic king-lists and from the Rig Vedic hymns. He affirms that the conjectural 'readings' of the Assyriologists are, in many cases, not only wide of the mark, but quite erroneous; that the Indian data now enable him to revise these 'readings' and to prove in highest probability that we have in the Sumerian lists names of Aryan kings. Thus, in the case of the first Mesopotamian dynasty (3100-2950 B.C.), he reads: for Ur-Ninā—Uru-aś (=Sk. Hary-aśwa) or Bar-ama-ha-aś (=Sk. B'army-aśwa); for Akurgal—(A-) Mad-gal (=Sk. Mudgala); for Eannatum— Bi (d)-aś-na-di (= Sk. Paśenadi); for En-li Tarzi—En-e Tar-ṣi—*i.e.* 'Divine Tarṣi' (=Sk. Divo-Dāsa—*i.e.* 'Divine Dāsa'). If Assyriological scholars should accept these revolutionary readings, the immediate consequence would be that all existing theories of Hindu-Aryan origins would have to be revised. Our author is to be congratulated for raising the question quite definitely. But even if this new departure should be found to be securely based, there is little doubt that, as this fertile field becomes intensively tilled, numerous statements confidently made by legitimate pioneer enthusiasm will have to be corrected or modified. This has always been the case. Thus our author reiterates many views from his prior work, mentioned above, as ascertained facts; but they are far more slenderly based than the special thesis of his present volume. Leaving aside, therefore, the highly questionable supposition that the Phœnicians and Hittites were Aryans, we think that the Sumerian-Aryan inter-connection is a promising hypothesis. Within this frame of reference Dr. Waddell is praiseworthily moderate in his general contention, as may be seen from his introductory remarks on pp. 4 and 5:

"Even now, after deciphering these two [special] seals, as well as the numerous others bearing this same Sumerian script, which were subsequently unearthed at Harappa and at another site on the Lower Indus, from the actual buildings and graves of their authors, and associated with many cultural objects of a Sumerian type, we shall find that, although those seals, etc., contribute priceless concrete testimony to the former early presence

of Sumerians in the Indus Valley, and identify them with Vedic Aryans, and attest their possession of river-ports or stations in the Indus Valley for nearly a thousand years, still in the absence of such finds elsewhere in India, and in the Ganges Valley in particular, they do not necessarily imply that these Early Sumerians of the Indus Valley were members or descendants of what is generally called 'The Aryan Invasion of India'—that invasion which suddenly appeared and annexed and *permanently* ruled, colonized and civilized the whole of India, and in particular the Ganges Valley of Hindustan.

"On the contrary, these Early Sumerians in the Indus Valley appear from the testimony of their own seals, etc., to have been merely an early temporary wave of Sumerian (*i.e.* Vedic Aryan) seafaring traders who penetrated to the Indus Valley, and holding it as a colony of Mesopotamia, settled there for several centuries accompanied by their families and family priests. They seem to have been an advance-guard, but transient, of the same Aryan Sumerian race which eventually came in greater force, overland through Persia, from Upper Mesopotamia, Media and Asia Minor, and making their headquarters in the Ganges Valley permanently annexed and civilized India as the great so-called 'Aryan Invasion of India.' They thus appear to afford an early instance of that peaceful penetration by seafaring Aryan merchants—a process not unknown in modern times—which after many centuries ultimately led up to the great 'Aryan Invasion of India' by a later branch of the same 'Sumerian' race, presumably about 700 B.C."

Emblematic Freemasonry and the Evolution of its Deeper Issues.

By Arthur Edward Waite. London (Rider); pp. 301; 12s. 6d. net.

It is a significant fact that there is now being published an increasing number of books on the more profound problems of Freemasonry. There may have been a time when it could have been said generally with justice that a Freemason was more interested in his dinner than in his ritual. There are even to-day occasions when an indifferently worked ritual is atoned for by the splendour of the festive board; but times are slowly changing. There are now evidences that the Masonic Brotherhood is beginning to think. It wants to know the reason of its existence and to have something more than veiled hints of a spiritual ancestry.

Mr. Waite's book, as he frankly tells us in his Introduction, is a collection of lectures or essays read at Masonic Lodges and Chapters in the course of his activities as one of the most eminent Masonic scholars of his day. But they follow one another in point of time as gracefully as they no doubt flowed from his lips as he delivered them to their respective gatherings; and there is every reason to believe that his listeners will now be augmented by a much larger public, all eager to extend their knowledge.

Mr. Waite—or should we not say Brother Waite, or more properly still Worshipful Brother Waite?—like the cautious man he is, always begins his Masonry with the date 1717. This is when 'Grand Lodge' was formed; and in the opening essay there is much statistical information for the curious in these matters. It is most unusual for a man of Brother Waite's literary ability, poetic genius and romantic qualifications, to adhere so rigidly to recorded fact. But he holds as tightly to the date 1717 as a drowning man to a raft. Perhaps he fears that if he once departed ever so little from documentary evidence, he might be accused by his numerous antagonists of weaving a tissue of romance. He even dismisses the case of Elias Ashmole, who was made a Mason in 1646, as hardly worthy of consideration. No, Masonry began in 1717, sprang out of thin air, and began to record itself in minute-books!

When we come to the essay on 'The Mystical Quest in Freemasonry,' our author is more at his ease, happier at having left figures, facts and formulæ behind. In explaining the hidden significance of the various degrees he is in his proper element. If this is *not* the kind of truth we are seeking in Masonry, he tells us (on page 75), then it ought to be. We are thus led through almost all the known grades of Masonry to their inner and more hidden meaning, and have expounded for us the mysteries of grades which, the author proudly tells us more than once, are known to few besides himself.

In 'The Second Birth of Masonry in Continental Rites' we get a glittering pageantry. The Knightly Grades pass before us, and they have a sword in one hand and a trowel in the other. In the following chapter (VII.) many things are told us about the Royal Arch; certainly enough to inspire any 'Craft' mason, who has not yet entered the mysterious portals of that degree, with an earnest desire to do so. The Christian side of Masonry next occupies the attention of our indefatigable author; and one wonders how he is able to say so much about a subject supposed

to be 'secret' without disclosing those things which should not be communicated to the uninitiated. One wonders, too, if it may not be that the secrets of Masonry, like the real secrets of Christianity, are not 'communicated' but must be 'lived.' Be this as it may, few Masons will have realized, before reading Chapter VIII., that there are, or ever have been, so many essentially Christian degrees in Masonry. There follows in the next chapter much that is significant concerning the Knights Templar, so that it makes a fitting continuation of the previous chapter; for many consider this degree as the crowning glory of Freemasonry. And so we advance through 'Grades of Vengeance' and 'The Alleged Masonic Peril' to what is without doubt the finest chapter in the book.

Mr. Waite has a way of keeping the best to the last; so perhaps there may be something to be said for the lady who always reads the last page of a novel to see if there is a 'happy ending.' This treatise has a happy, nay a glorious ending. If we read only this last chapter we shall not come away empty handed. In it there are two pages which every Freemason worthy of the name should read. I allude especially to that part of page 267 which begins: "In the light of this understanding," and which ends at the bottom of the paragraph on the following page with the sentence: "And this is Craft Masonry, understood at the highest, when that which does not matter to the Real Mysteries has been taken out of the way."

The real student will go on to the end of the chapter, and he will also not fail to look in the Appendix; for he will there discover a section on 'The Quest in Mysticism,' which he who takes seriously that greatest of all problems and conquests, cannot fail to find helpful and inspiring. In the end all Quests are one and end in God.

A. L. C.

THIRTY YEARS AMONG THE DEAD.

By Carl A. Wickland, Member of the Chicago Medical Society, etc. In Collaboration with Nelle M. Watts, Celia L. Goerz and Orlando D. Goerz. Los Angeles (National Psychological Institute); pp. 390; $3.0.

THIS is a summary and general statement of records of very numerous cases, mainly of 'obsession,' extending over a period of upwards of thirty years, cured by Dr. Wickland's treatment. The author, who had previously had a wide acquaintance with the pathology of alienation, discovered by means of the remarkable psychical sensitivity of his wife, a Swedish lady, that

many of his patients were obsessed by earth-bound deceased personalities, who did not know they were physically dead. For brevity, we state the psychically apparent facts, without qualifying expressions; for, incredible as they may seem to most people, and highly repugnant as they are to the present-day views of conventional science, we have ourselves seen sufficient of similar phenomena not to deny their possibility. The curative process was, roughly, usually as follows. The patient was first treated by static electricity. The treatment, in every case, according to the records, expelled the invading entity. This method, as far as we are aware, is new, and the experiment is exceedingly interesting for those who have got beyond the stage of theoretical *à priori* scepticism, and are willing, in sufficiently well-evidenced cases, to try out the spirit-hypothesis as a highly probable one. Dr. Wickland found that, though the patient, like all other patients undergoing similar electric treatment, was by no means inconvenienced, the obsessing entity had an exceedingly rough time of it; so much so that the threat to subject it to another dose invariably brought it to heel. This seems to show that this form of electricity has a far more powerful effect on what we may call a subtle than on a gross physical organism. After the dislodgement of the obsessing intelligence from the psychic surround of the patient, Mrs. Wickland's 'controls' allowed it to communicate through her entranced body. It could thus be conversed with, and have explained to it its present condition, and directed how to turn its attention to other and higher things and so be taken in charge by friendly folk on the other side who were anxious to help. This seems at first sight to have been a most dangerous strain to put on the very sensitive organism of Mrs. Wickland. Some of these obsessing entities were people of by no means high character, and one could imagine that contamination of some sort must almost inevitably have followed. We are, however, given to understand that this lady has, with full knowledge of all the risks, most courageously and, in a spirit of high self-sacrifice, very willingly dedicated herself to this exceedingly dangerous service; that she has been very carefully looked after by her friends on the other side, and that as a matter of fact she has not suffered in either her physical or mental health after all these long years of strenuous service. For the obsessional phenomena manifested through the organism of this devoted lady are by no means simply vague and shadowy showings; on the contrary, much violence has often been displayed and her body dangerously thrown about.

Whatever the 'uninitiated' and prejudiced may think of these happenings, Mrs. Wickland must, for those who are understanding in such matters, indubitably be regarded as a martyr to science. It says also much for Dr. Wickland's confidence in his wife's high character, that he should have so courageously risked what was dearest to him in this beneficent undertaking. Dr. Wickland is convinced,—and it surely must be so—that our lunatic asylums are filled with similar cases to the ones which have come under his observation; not only so, but that psychical science can cure what is recalcitrant to the best conventional methods of official science, and that too, mainly because the medical profession will pay no attention to what is one of the most frequent causes of mental disease. What we have said, however, applies only to the main gist of the book; for, as with all such pioneer undertakings, it is not difficult to criticize and dissent from numerous subsidiary points. For instance, we cannot help thinking that Dr. Wickland might have made his explanations simpler to minds that were evidently quite ignorant of the subject. He only too often uses cant expressions, and these too of his own type of thinking or belief. Personally we have found it simpler to talk Tommy-talk to 'Tommies,' and so on. The 'philosophy' we may omit. And though it is interesting to hear that in Dr. Wickland's circle there were communications purporting to come from Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy and from Madame Blavatsky, it is difficult to believe that these ladies had become quite so 'Wicklandish,' as their purported utterances suggest. Doubtless both of them, if they have profited by their departure from the immediate environment of their respective sects, would now repudiate some of the chief dogmas they so busily and vigorously propagandized when in their physical bodies; but whatever may be the actual state of affairs with Mrs. Eddy, of whom we had no personal knowledge, it is difficult to recognize the virile characteristics of Madame Blavatsky in the jejune edition of her pourtrayed through Mrs. Wickland's mediumship.

Jewish Sects and Parties in the Time of Christ.

By J. W. Lightley, M.A. London (The Epworth Press); pp. viii. + 416; 8s. 6d. net.

Our author has ransacked all the available encyclopædias and made use of the best books, in endeavouring to give us a description of the various parties or sects of Judaism at the time of

Jesus. True, much has been written hitherto on this subject, and many theories have been evolved; but all this rests on a very slender basis. Josephus and the New Testament are the chief sources; and both, we may respectfully add, have still to be critically examined, especially the documents of the New Testament. In the Jewish literature, curiously enough, the allusions are very scanty. Not much importance is there attached to the Sadducees. As for the Pharisees, they are not anywhere referred to as legislators or legalists. In one place *per contra* many kinds of Pharisees, *i.e.* Separatists, are mentioned, and they are not praised for that attitude. Nevertheless many theories have been spun out of this cobweb, and an artificial background has thus been created for the time of Jesus. The author examines the theories hitherto advanced, and comes to the conclusion that the Sadducees were the Hellenizing party, whilst the Pharisees were the legalists, those who developed the oral law. This conclusion, however, is untenable, even if some of the Sadducean party, notably the High Priests, at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes should have gone so far as to bow the knee before the Greek idol. The division was not one of religious principles, but chiefly political. Unfortunately, the author uses exclusively second-hand material, and he is thus led to ascribe to the so-called Zadokite Fragment an importance which no Jewish scholar has granted to it. It is neither Zadokite in teaching, nor old in composition. It belongs to the 5th or 6th century, and represents a small dissenting party in Damascus. The section dealing with the Samaritans is also very disappointing. This is, however, not the fault of the author, who throughout has used the present available 'authorities' very carefully. Despite these criticisms, on the whole we have before us a succinct and reliable summary of all the theories hitherto entertained by scholars, and a very reliable guide for all those who wish to continue such investigations. Mr. Lightley does not betray any real bias; indeed he endeavours to keep the balance even when judging the merits of the Pharisees and Sadducees and appraising their value for deepening faith and a truer conception of the relation between God and man. The charge of legalism against the Pharisees, however, ought no longer to be repeated. It rests on a wrong estimate of the character of the Pharisees. A rich bibliography covering eight pages amply furnishes all the material required for further study, and testifies to the industry of the author.

M. GASTER.

INDO-EUROPÉENS ET INDO-IRANIENS.

L'Inde jusque vers 800 av. J.-C. Par L. de la Vallée-Poussin, Professeur à l'Université de Gand. Paris (Boccard); pp. 345.

THIS is the first published volume of a new series, entitled *Histoire du Monde*, edited by Prof. Eugène Cavaignac, of Strasbourg University, of which there are to be thirteen volumes in all. If the rest of the works are any way nearly as good as the one before us, it will indeed be a remarkably instructive series. Our distinguished Indianist (who writes English as well as he does French and was with us at Oxford during the War), and good friend, Prof. L. de la Vallée-Poussin, is gratefully known to all scholars of Buddhism as the leading authority on the Sanskrit tradition of that great faith. He at first modestly refused to accept Prof. Cavaignac's invitation to take part in the series, on the ground that he was not an historian, but a simple student of religion and philosophy. We are, however, only too glad that Prof. de la Vallée-Poussin was at last persuaded to take pen in hand; for, in the first place, there is far more life in his work than in that of most historiographers, and in the second, not being a rigidly limited specialist, he can take a more catholic and artistically focussed view of the material, and so enable us through his eyes to see the wood more as a whole, instead of in parts, as a blurred tangle of trees. Personally, we have had an exceedingly good time in perusing carefully Prof. L. de la Vallée-Poussin's labours. His summaries of prior work and opinions are excellent; not only so but he frequently, if not always, emerges with a sane evaluation or with some striking view or suggestion of his own on many a long-standing and highly controversial problem. As we read, and as we are reminded of the history of changing opinion, or light on the summary of some work that has previously escaped our notice, we realize more sharply and distinctly than ever before, how vastly the point of view, perspective and valuation of problem after problem in the history of early Indian expansion of thought have in these latter years changed from the limited, prejudiced and guess-work presentations and estimates of the pioneer Indianists of the 19th century. The dead-weight influence of their erroneous views will doubtless continue to mislead the many for years to come; but those of our readers who would see with their own eyes, and not through coloured spectacles, should procure and study carefully this masterly exposition of the early history—

in its widest and more vital sense—of these two so important great branches of the Aryan human stock which are generally known as Indo-european and Indo-aryan. The 345pp. before us are crammed so full, that we are unable to select details, in fear that the general picture should be seen by our readers out of focus and so become blurred. It is of course the main points of view and the clear perspective that in this brief notice engage our attention and awaken our gratitude. Some of the innumerable points of detail could naturally be selected for the pettier purpose of bringing in a 'but,' an 'however,' or an 'on the contrary' and so on and so forth. But as to the larger issues—to use the vernacular—we may say with emphasis of this arresting work of the exceedingly well-equipped Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Ghent: It's a jolly good book! And there we leave it,—with *namaskāra's* to its distinguished author.

THE RELIGION OF THE RIG VEDA.

By H. G. Griswold, Ph.D. (Cornell), D.D. (Union), Secretary of the Council of the American Presbyterian Missions to India. London (Oxford University Press); pp. 392; 12s. 6d. net.

THIS is one of the volumes of 'The Religious Quest of India' Series edited by Drs. Farquhar and Griswold. We have frequently reviewed with approval books on Indian religion in the various series edited so ably by Dr. Farquhar, and expressed our satisfaction at the very great change that has of late characterized the attitude of the most enlightened representatives of missionary enterprise in India to the faiths of those they seek to convert. The old bad way of misrepresentation and condemnation is frankly abandoned, and praiseworthy efforts are being made by some missionary writers to set forth the tenets of the many forms of religion in India with as much sympathy as fundamental loyalty to their own confession will allow. Dr. Griswold has spent upwards of thirty years in India, and in just those parts where the hymns of the Rig Veda came to birth or were first chanted on Indian soil. His treatise shows all the signs of careful study and wide reading, and is a useful contribution to what is a very difficult subject. Our author is imbued with the sense of beauty of natural phenomena, and his love of nature helps him to render very pleasingly many an ancient hymn. The varying developments that have emerged from this earliest soil of Indo-Aryan faith are well traced and brought out, though of course Dr.

Griswold's own fundamental religious preferences are shown in his valuations. Thus he writes (p. 370): "While certain aspects and teachings of the Rig Veda, such as its dominant polytheism, its incipient pantheism, and its increasing tendency toward an abstract and non-ethical intellectualism find their fulfilment in the later Hinduism, there are other aspects of the Rigvedic teaching which point rather in the direction of Christianity, such as the monotheistic and ethical Varuṇa, the high priestly and mediatory Agni, the emphasis on the forgiveness of sins in connection with Varuṇa and the Ādityas, and the doctrine of the last things—heavenly home, luminous body, beatific vision, etc., etc.—so different from the later doctrine of transmigration." In brief, Dr. Griswold is the worshipper of a Personal God; while in India (and, we may add, in the West as well) there are many who hold that Divine Reality transcends all such purely human limitations, and that too without in any way being enamoured of 'an abstract and non-ethical intellectualism.' But these profounder fundamentals are not the immediate subject of our author's enquiry. In the field of Rigvedic study proper he treats with ability and with sympathy—with perhaps even more sympathy than one who has no special theological proclivities—these religious beginnings, the earliest records of Aryan faith on Indian soil. The very difficult subject of the historical and geographical indications found in the hymns is still very obscure for us, and here Dr. Griswold has no fresh light to throw on the problems involved. It may very well be that the recent archæological discoveries made in the valley of the Indus will open up a new chapter in Rigvedic study, and the ancient hymns be scrutinized more deeply than ever for the secular elements preserved in them.

The Lady Julian:

A Psychological Study by R. H. Thouless, M.A., Ph.D. London (S.P.C.K.); pp. 122; 4s. 6d. net.

As one who found it impossible to agree very fully with Dr. Thouless' *Introduction to the Psychology of Religion*, it is all the more agreeable to the present reviewer to say at once that this study of Julian of Norwich is in many ways most admirable, and meets a real need in those who have come more and more to value the treasure of English mysticism. Dr. Thouless is very modest in his book; he lets Mother Julian speak chiefly for herself, and how impressively she speaks can only be perceived from the text

of the 'Shewings' themselves. The opening chapter, in which Dr. Thouless expounds what he means by mysticism, would not perhaps in every respect commend itself to such writers as Fr. Poulain or Auguste Saudreau. When he says the mystics speak of a 'possession of God,' is the preposition quite accurate? Would not the mystic prefer to speak of possession *by* or *in* God? And does Dr. Thouless really mean to ascribe the cultus of the Sacred Heart to the Tenth Shewing of Julian? Chapter iv. is full of controversial statements. On what grounds does Dr. Thouless think that 'we moderns' must regard Julian's visions of the crucifixion as morbid? Do 'we moderns' include the Salvation Army, and is that morbid? Does the wayside Calvary really shock us by its cruel contradiction to the beauty of the sunlit mountain? Has it no beauty of its own? Does it not by the combination of beauty and awe convert the natural landscape into a romantic? Did Francis Thompson find the wayside Calvary at Storrington shocking, or did he write one of his finest poems beneath its long straight beam? And what *certainty* has Dr. Thouless for saying that in one of the Lady Julian's visions "primitive sexual desire remained a suppressed but not destroyed element in her psyche"? Is this really helpful? Does it illuminate Julian's spiritual significance for us? *Excreta* are *excreta*, whether of the body or the soul, and are of no importance to the lay appreciation of a healthily functioning body-mind. In his chapters on Sin and the Motherhood of God, however, Dr. Thouless is much more helpful, though there appears to be some inconsistency between p. 11 and p. 102 on the fundamental nature of the craving of God. Not every mystic would accept his unqualified statement that an initial impoverishment of ordinary human affections characterizes the mystical life. Jane Chantal? George Fox? William Wordsworth? Jesus Christ?

A. A. COCK.

THE JOURNAL OF GEORGE FOX, 1624-1675.

Everyman's Library, No. 754. London (Dent); pp. 22+358; 2s. net.

IN so far as mysticism is the experimental knowledge of God, is the practice of the presence of God, George Fox was a master mystic. At 19 years of age he broke off all familiarity with relatives, with friends old or young, at the command of God. At the age of 45 he saw 'from the Lord' that he should take

Margaret Fell to be his wife. After consulting her daughters and sons-in-law, George and Margaret were married, and after a week's stay in Bristol resumed the Lord's work, she going homewards to Swarthmore and he "passing on in the work of the Lord as before."

The *Journal* is the record of a man with an ardent conviction, a fiery love, a disputatious temperament and a great hatred of steeple-houses. He had visions and locutions, interior trials and temptations, prophecies and other 'openings'; and there are passages on the blood of Christ which might almost form part of one of the Shewings of Juliana of Norwich. The great language of the mystics is his: he is ravished with the sense of the love of God, he has a 'convincement' of God's indwelling presence, and the inward light never fails to constrain his will even when it appeared to be withdrawn from his understanding. Those who set him at nought or denied his doctrine, not uncommonly came to grievous ends, and Fox records the facts with a certain grim satisfaction. But the great passage in which he sets forth his approach to the 'bloody city of Lichfield' is unforgettable, once read. He espies three steeple-house spires, and "they struck at my life." He is commanded of the Lord to go barefooted to the city. He did so, leaving his shoes in charge of trembling and astonished shepherds. Fox afterwards returned, recovered his shoes and recompensed the shepherds.

Fox's journeyings were innumerable. Throughout the later Cromwellian years and during the first twenty years of the Restoration he went up and down England and Wales and into the New England colonies. Civil commotions, persecutions, the multiplication of competing sects, Ranters, Baptists and others made no difference to his indomitable mind. He found some organisation indispensable; and the genesis of Yearly Meeting, Quarterly Meetings and Committees on Sufferings is vividly recorded in the *Journal*.

Dr. Rufus Jones has done well to edit this work in 'Everyman's Library,' and the best compliment the reader can pay to the historian of the Society of Friends is to read Fox's *Journal* in company with Rufus Jones' two volumes on the Quaker movement. Mr. Penny's revision and Appendix enable the student to complete the story to Fox's death in 1690.

Fox and Pepys do not appear to have met. Would that they had!

A. A. Cock.

THE UNWRITTEN GOSPEL.

Ana and Agrapha of Jesus. By Roderic Dunkerley, B.A., B.D. London (Allen & Unwin); pp. 207; 8s. 6d. net.

MR. DUNKERLEY is a good scholar and his book is a useful collection of such extra-canonical sayings as are most resemblant to the canonical type. Since Resch's *Agrapha* (1889), the first systematic work on the subject, several more popular presentations of selected sayings have been published, and the present is one of the ablest. Mr. Dunkerley's general perspective is taken from a different standpoint from the one to which we have been accustomed. Having eliminated from his collection all agraphal sayings that are either distinctively Gnostic or savour of Gnostic ideas, he claims for his selection that it is made up for the most part of sayings that may very well have been uttered by Jesus himself,—that there is a somewhat about them, an air, a flavour, a perfume, so distinctive that it can be judged as typical of the sayings of the Nazarene Prophet and of him alone. Our trouble has been the other way about. Instead of extending the area of genuine historical original sayings uttered by the Galilean, we feel compelled to question the originality of a number of sayings ascribed to him in the gospel-narratives. There was much to quote from besides the Old Testament books. Not only so, but there is evidence to show that there were collections of prophetical sayings, utterances of the Spirit, adapted sometimes specially to particular communities,—*e.g.* "Blessed are ye Poor!"—a technical name for those who had given up their worldly goods and made themselves poor for the sake of the riches of the Kingdom. We, therefore, cannot form the same estimate of the authenticity of the collection of extra-canonical sayings before us as Mr. Dunkerley has done. Nevertheless it is a very good thing to instruct a singularly ignorant public in such matters; it widens their outlook and gives them a new orientation. We also venture to think that our author's title is not very well chosen. The sayings in question, so far from being 'unwritten,' are known precisely because they have been written. The technical term *A-grapha* signifies that they are not found in the *Graphē*, *i.e.* the Scripture, in its most narrow canonical sense. They are in fact *non*-scriptural; but the excellence of their content, however, does not allow of their being described as *un*-scriptural, in a depreciatory sense.

THE VOICES OF THE STONES.

By A. E. London (Macmillan); pp. 61; 3s. 6d. net.

THE quality of A. E.'s mystical verse and other writings is too well known to readers of THE QUEST to require any special recommendation on our part. It must have been somewhat difficult for our old friend, George W. Russell, to find a fully descriptive title for these eight and thirty various very short verse-pieces and one (twelve pages in length) that is of a more ambitious nature and which, in our view, is by far the best. He, however, thus sets forth his choice of the title in introductory lines:

> "I made these verses in a rocky land,
> And I have named them Voices of the Stones,
> Although they do not keep that [*sic*] innocence
> Was shed on me when quiet made me kin
> To the cold immobile herd. All things have changed
> From primal nature save these stones: all things
> Since Eden, bird and beast and fire, have strayed
> Far from that shining garden of His thought:
> We also. Only the humble stones have kept
> Their morning starriness of purity
> Immutable. Being unfallen they breathe
> Only unfallen life; and with my cheeks
> Pressed to their roughness I had part regained
> My morning starriness, and made these songs
> Half from the hidden world and half from this."

The poem 'Michael' tells the story of a fisher lad from the wild coasts of the West of Ireland, half one with nature and half conscious of its Sidhe, who comes to the dull grey labour of the industrial East, and there finds himself lost and forlorn. At last he meets with those who tell of the glories of ancient mythic times and the heroes of old. Scarce knowing what he does, he is swept away into the surge of revolt, and is shot on a barricade. As the Sidhe blessed his dream-self on his leaving the storm-swept coast, so they receive his soul in splendrous fashion when he has given all he has to give in sacrifice to the primal gods of his subconscious race-instinct. We fancy that A. E. has retouched 'Michael' somewhat since we first saw it years ago in MS.

THE CLOUD OF UNKNOWING, ETC.

Edited by Dom Justin McCann. The Orchard Books. London (Burns, Oates & Washbourne); pp. 52 + 406; 5s. net.

'THE ORCHARD BOOKS' form what is in many respects the best edited series of mystical treatises now available for the general reader, and Dom Hudleston, the General Editor, and Dom McCann, the Editor of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, are to be warmly congratulated for including this fine masterpiece of English mysticism in their series. Together with the *Cloud* the Editor prints the *Epistle of Privy Counsel*, a tract on the Holy Trinity, the *Denis Hid Divinity* and an Exposition of the *Cloud* by Fr. Augustine Baker, whose own *Sancta Sophia* we hope will presently be included in 'The Orchard Books.'

In the *Cloud* we have a most original and subtle exposition of the *via negativa*. The contemplative life is rightly discerned to be one of interior action, not of inaction; the Divine transcendence rather than the Divine immanence is the author's natural mode of approach, and there are stark passages which anticipate some of the loftier reaches of thought in St. John of the Cross. In his use of monosyllabic prayers of ejaculation the unknown writer is at one with Gerlac Petersen's *Fiery Soliloquy with God*; and, although in c. 57 the writer is careful to warn us against the curiosity of natural wit and departure from the common doctrine of Holy Church (he seems to have Lollardry in mind), there is the same significant lack of complete dependence on or subservience to institutional religion as may be discerned in most mystics who follow the *via negativa*. It is the natural sequel to that path and hence is to be followed by but few. It would be interesting to know whether Henry Vaughan, Crashaw and the other Sacred Poets of the 17th century knew of the *Cloud*. Fr. Baker, whose commentary on it is careful and concise, had access to it at the end of that century. For the reader of to-day not the least impressive fact is that such purely spiritual treatises as the *Cloud* and *Sancta Sophia* were written during periods of great civil commotion. Read the *Cloud* in company with Henry Vaughan and William Wordsworth, and you ascend peaks from which the turmoils of the Hundred Years' War, the Puritan Revolution and the Reign of Terror may all be surveyed with serenity. In the *Cloud* peace, at the centre of a cyclone.

A. A. COCK.

The Shepherd of Eternity.

And other poems. By Eva Gore-Booth. London (Longmans); pp. 120; 4s. net.

Miss Eva Gore-Booth is a writer of pleasing, sometimes of beautiful, verse, who is inspired by a mystical, religious fervour. The mystic's secret is the subject of most of the poems in this book, in which the Great Discovery is again and again placed before the reader somewhat dramatically by the aid of a fertile imagination and a gift of graceful speech. The poem with which the book closes, 'Yet a Little While,' makes a special appeal from its simplicity and truth. The following are the first and some other verses.

"So long ago, so far away,
Such weary lengths of time and space,
Between this day and the other day
When the world saw thy face.

* * *

"'A little while,' oh promise strange,
The Love that in our souls once shone
Has vanished down dim ways of change.
We know not whither thou hast gone.

"Some say a bright and mystic star
Thou shinest in the heavens above;
Nay, there is no more near nor far
In God's enfolding soul of Love.

"There is the mystic garden fair,
The Tree of Life, the shining stream;
By crystal waters thou art there,
Close to our hearts; it is no dream.

* * *

"Oh glorious divine ascent,
Oh simple secret marvellous,
This is the place to which he went
That he might come again to us."

The beautiful poem entitled 'In the Temple' (p. 40), which is however too long to quote, has a special interest, dealing as it does with the extra-canonical saying of Christ: "I came to put an end to sacrifices."

S. E. Hall.

TELEPATHY AND CLAIRVOYANCE.

By Rudolph Tischner. Translated by W. D. Hutchinson. With an Introduction by E. J. Dingwall. London (Kegan Paul); pp. 227; 10s. 6d. net.

THIS is one of the volumes of the useful and informative 'International Library of Psychology, Philosophy and Scientific Method,' and answers well to its standard of requirements. It is well translated, as far as our memory of the second German edition (1921) serves, but contains numerous changes and additions not found in that edition. Dr. Tischner of Munich has long occupied himself with the study of extra-normal psychical phenomena; he is not only thoroughly practised in the procedures of scientific method, but fully alive to what a scientific reader requires of one who attempts to set forth the record and analysis of experiments that are at present barred from the laboratories of official research. Though these experiments are by no means so striking as very many others with which we are acquainted, they are nevertheless sufficient in themselves to warrant the claim, after a searching analysis, that the bare facts of clairvoyance and telepathy stand securely established on a scientific foundation. The volume will serve a very useful purpose in presenting those who rejoice in considering themselves the 'tough-minded' and 'hard-headed' members of the community, with scientifically prepared meat to chew upon. It accompanies old students no further than the first stage of their journeying; but it is pleasant to see that the once rough path blazed through the primeval forest of 19th century materialistic prejudice is beginning to be macadamised. Soon, let us hope, there will be motors running along it gaily.

THE BOOK OF THE KINDRED SAYINGS.

Saṁyutta-Nikāya or Grouped Suttas, Part III. Translated by F. L. Woodward, M.A., edited by Mrs. Rhys Davids, D.Litt., M.A. Pāli Text Society, Translation Series, No. 18. London (Oxford University Press); pp. 221; 10s. net.

THIS volume concludes the translation of the division of the Pāli canon known as 'The Grouped Suttas.' Parts I. and II. (1917 and 1922) came from the experienced pen of Mrs. Rhys Davids herself, and Mr. Woodward worthily concludes the undertaking. The immense task of rendering into English the whole of the most

ancient canon of Buddhist doctrine courageously continues. But workers are few ; and no one but Mrs. Rhys Davids herself, who has laboured so many years alongside of her devoted husband of most honoured memory, since he founded the Pāli Tract Society in 1881, can fully realise the enormous difficulties which have had to be overcome. Even were we to possess the whole of the Pāli canon in English dress, it would be but a collection of verbally scrutinized material. The greatest task of Buddhist research for Western Orientalists is to try to get back from these formal and systematized monkish documents, which assumed their present fixation centuries later than the days of the Buddha, to what may perchance have been the simple teaching of the historic Gotama. On this Mrs. Rhys Davis in her Editorial Note is eloquent and suggestive. It is impossible to believe that one of the very greatest religious geniuses the world has ever known, could have indulged in the wearisome repetitions and negative exhortations which his monkish followers in subsequent generations so plentifully fathered upon him. They are clearly for the most part the work of little men, far removed, not only in time but also in spirit, from the Great Life of Penetrating Insight that animated the original discourses of the Tathāgata.

The Parables and Similes of the Rabbis.

Agricultural and Pastoral. By Rabbi Asher Feldman, B.A., Dayan of the United Synagogue, London. Cambridge (The University Press); pp. 290; 7*s*. 6*d*.

Though by no means exhaustive, this is a convenient study of a subject of the greatest interest to Bible-readers. It is done with ability, though 'Judge' Feldman, perhaps because of his office, repeats himself too much in summarizing what he has already set forth; he is evidently anxious not to let his readers miss any of the points. The service his work should render to Christian readers, who are with few exceptions blissfully ignorant that any parallels to the gospel-parables exist, is to show them that these parables do not stand in isolation as unique expository phenomena, but are part and parcel of contemporary general Rabbinic teaching-custom. The reader finds himself in a familiar atmosphere at once and throughout, and is frequently struck by the very close similarity in the themes as well as in the common stock of similes. There is at times, of course, as is the case with no little of Talmudic matter, a certain far-fetchedness in the comparisons and

expositions. But much is simple and natural enough; and there is little doubt, as Dr. Israel Abrahams long ago remarked, that, if as much care and polishing of translation had been bestowed upon the Rabbinic as upon the Gospel parables the similarities would seem closer than they are even at present.

What is Mysticism?

A Study of Man's Search for God. By the Rev. Charles Morris Addison, D.D. New York (Macmillan); pp. 54.

This is an interesting study of the nature of mysticism, especially in its Christian development. It is sympathetic but cautious, attempting to define the mystic experience in terms of Christian theology, and to equate it with the ordinary processes of the human mind. It will be helpful to many who are drawn towards the subject, but who are in danger either of tending towards extravagance or of being deterred by fear. There are, however, some points that are open to exception, some statements that are likely to arouse criticism. The insistence that the God of the mystic is a personal God, using the word in its generally accepted meaning (a position which is involved in the preliminary statement that the varieties of mysticism depend on the *kind* of God sought) leads the reader almost to conclude that the mystical experience is regarded as the same in kind as the psychic; especially when one finds, as on p. 86, the mystical faculty identified with the Sub-conscious. There is, we may note, no mention of the mystical 'change of consciousness.' Another point is the emphasis laid on the mystic's consciousness of sin, which, though indeed a characteristic of the mediæval Christian mystics, cannot, unless the words are used solely of a deepened sense of the necessity of leading a moral life, be regarded as an essential feature of the mystical experience. The book as a whole, however, is a careful and helpful exposition of some of the aspects of Christian mysticism. S. E. Hall.

The Departure of Paganism.

Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums. Von Johannes Geffcken. Heidelberg (Carl Winter); pp. 347.

The graves are giving up their secrets. Inscriptions buried for many centuries are coming to light in increasing numbers. Their legends are read and registered; papyri picked up on the rubbish-heaps of old Egypt are carefully unrolled, and they have

a tale of their own to unfold. They all speak of a life that had greatly been forgotten, and scholars are piecing them together, to reconstruct that life. The ancient history is being re-written, and many a wrong notion, however deeply rooted, is now being radically modified. One of these was the idea that Christianity had an easy victory over Græco-Roman Paganism, especially after it became the state-religion, and that Paganism had yielded to the onslaught without attempting to defend itself. How erroneous such a notion was is shown in the excellent and well-documented book of Professor Geffcken. Literally, no stone has been left unturned, if there was an inscription to be read on it. The whole ancient literature of the first four centuries has been ransacked, and we learn, not without surprise, of the stubborn fight which Paganism set up. Every inch of the ground was strongly defended; and even then Paganism has not really been conquered. Much of it has been absorbed by Christianity, even dogmas and ceremonies. The decline and fall of Paganism was a very slow one, and it has left deep traces behind. The book is the work of a great scholar.

M. GASTER.

THE ART OF CONTEMPLATION.

Translated from the Catalan of Ramón Lull by E. Allison Peers. London (S.P.C.K.): pp. 15 + 101; 3s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR ALLISON PEERS is rendering a great service to English students of mysticism in translating, stage by stage, the works of Ramón Lull, the Catalan mystic, whose life and legend are almost as fascinating as that of Paracelsus. *The Book of the Lover and the Beloved* and *The Art of Contemplation* are both admirably rendered by Professor Peers, who augments the value of his work by very serviceable introductory essays. Spanish mysticism has been for too long solely identified with S. Teresa and S. John of the Cross, and it is good to study the origins three centuries earlier in Ramón Lull and his contemporaries.

The Art of Contemplation is less ejaculatory than *The Book of the Lover and the Beloved;* it is more metaphysical and ontological in tone, and here and there are passages reminiscent of S. Anselm, whose own work would be for Lull comparatively recent. Can Professor Peers tell us whether S. Anselm's works found their way to Spanish monasteries? Lull's argument against the eternity of the world is particularly reminiscent in tone of S. Anselm. There is an interesting passage in which Lull employs

the 'manner of negation,' but finding his soul void of devotion and understanding he returns to that of affirmation. Compare this with the difference between S. Teresa and S. John of the Cross, between Juliana of Norwich and the author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, or between Francis Thompson and Mrs. Meynell. It is to be hoped that Lull's works will catch the eye of that distinguished commentator on Plotinus, the Dean of St. Paul's.

A. A. COCK.

IMPRESSIONS FROM THE UNSEEN.

By L. M. Bazett, with an Introduction by Sir William F. Barrett, F.R.S. Oxford (Blackwell); pp. 112; 5s. net.

THE well-educated and sensible lady who here gives a number of good evidential cases obtained through her own mediumship, enjoys a somewhat remarkable phase of sensitivity. You do not have to sit with Miss Bazett, but may send her simply the full name and date of death, with rank in case of an Army or Navy man. The instances in this little volume are supplementary to those in her first small volume, entitled *After-Death Communication*, which was very favourably received. We are personally acquainted with some of Miss Bazett's work, and it is quite good.

THE FACULTY OF COMMUNION.

By the Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton, D.B.E. London (Longmans); pp. 126; 4s. 6d. net.

DAME EDITH LYTTELTON has been convinced by her personal experiences and study of psychical research that communion with the Unseen is a fact. In this well-written, sober and value-seeking little volume, she takes the subject up from the lower levels to the higher grounds of religion, and pleads eloquently with the clergy not to dismiss the subject *d priori* with contempt, but to do their plain duty and study it for themselves, so that they may be able to help and guide. To such a voice the clerics should listen with respect.

[The paper by Mr. S. Hanumantha Rao, 'Where European and Indian Philosophy Touch,' announced for this number, has been postponed till the January issue.—ED.]

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THE QUEST

SOME REMARKS ON THE SLAVONIC JOSEPHUS.

Professor A. MARMORSTEIN, Ph.D.

THE writers, pro and con, on the question of the historicity of Jesus attach, and rightly, the greatest importance to the references to Jesus in Josephus and in the Rabbinic writings. Dr. Robert Eisler, in his very ingenious article on 'The Newly Rediscovered Witness of Josephus to Jesus,' in the last number, concludes with words of gratitude to "the more considerate Slavonic interpolators, who have preserved most of Josephus' original testimony to Jesus, and thereby enabled us to dispose once and for all of the fanciful denials of the historicity of the Nazarene Prophet." Dr. Eisler's enthusiastic conclusions are based on the few fragments known to English scholars and readers, thanks to the translations of the Editor of THE QUEST. Are we entitled or enabled to draw such far-reaching conclusions without having access to the whole of the Slavonic Josephus? For,—let us face the facts,—if we accept Dr. Eisler's conclusions, we have to look upon many problems very differently

from the way to which our present state of knowledge and information has accustomed us. It would simply revolutionize the research of the history of the first two centuries. Prof. V. Istrin of St. Petersburg has informed Dr. E. that the Slavonic text differs throughout from the Greek, to such an extent that it would be quite impossible simply to record its variants in notes to our Greek versions. It is, therefore, quite premature to estimate or to conjecture the historical or the literary value of the Slavonic Josephus. Who knows, or who could say at present, whether it does not contain one of the manifold versions of the Hebrew Josippon, the Latin Egesippus or the Arabic Josippus? Students can get a clear idea of the rather romantic history of, and the unsolved problems connected with, these works from the bibliography elaborated by M. Steinschneider in his *Die Geschichtsliteratur der Juden* (Frankfurt a. M., 1905, pp. 28-33). The Hebrew Josephus mentions John the Baptist, whom he erroneously identifies with John the High Priest who was killed by Herod (ch. 63, ed. Prag, 1784, p. 101 b). Some chapters read like a translation of the Greek, others justify Prof. Istrin's words. The date of the Josippon is still a subject of debate, and cannot be now discussed here. I observe that the earliest quotations from the Josippon can be traced only to the 9th century. Scholars on the whole agree that the Slavonic cannot be a translation of the Greek Josephus, nor of a very free and arbitrary Byzantine paraphrase of the extant Greek text. Dr. Eisler, therefore, is inclined to see in the Slavonic a translation of the original Aramaic copy of the Wars, written and sent by the author to his brethren in the Diaspora, to Jews of the Parthian empire of Babylonia, of far-off

Arabia and of Adiabene on the other side of the Euphrates. Granted that Josephus really wrote such a work for that purpose, and that the Aramaic original essentially differed from the Greek, is it likely that, if preserved till the 10th century, the great teachers of Babylonia should have ignored such a work and not used it, either for the redaction of the Talmud, or for the explanation of some of its obscure passages, which was frequently asked and sought of the leaders of the Academies by Jewish scholars in the far-away countries of Europe and Africa? There is, moreover, no trace of Chazar-Jewish rabbis; neither their names nor their works are known to posterity. We know, however, of Jews in the 11th century, who could speak neither Hebrew nor Arabic nor Greek, but only their native tongue,—Russian (see Marmorstein, '*Sur Tobiya b. Elieser*,' in *Revue des Études juives*, vol. 73, 1921, 92ff.) One of them passed through Salonica, and was recommended by the local rabbi (Tobiah ben Elieser) as a pious pilgrim to all Jews who lived in all the places on the road from Salonica to the Holy Land. But Chazar-Jewish rabbis are just as unknown as MSS. of the same provenance! It is even doubtful whether the Chazars knew the Hebrew script, although some Arabic writers assume it as a fact.[1] Similarly unknown to us are Slavonic translations from Hebrew writings. Dr. Eisler is perhaps thinking of the Slavonic *Enoch*. This was surely translated from the Greek, and not from the Hebrew. The theory of the alleged hostile attitude towards Josephus and his writings on the part of the Jews also does not hold water. The great writers and teachers of Jewish lore

[1] See *ZDMG*, xiii. 566; *Hebr. Bibliogr.* ii. 109; Graetz, *Geschichte* v. 369.

refer to and quote from the Josippon. Josephus was not in their judgment a traitor; just as R. Johanan ben Zakkai, who opposed in his mild way the Zealots, was never thought of as such. By the way, there are many similarities between the autobiography of Josephus and the Rabbinic reports about R. Johanan ben Zakkai in the Talmud and Midrash. Finally Dr. E. compares the way of travel of the Slavonic Josephus with that of the Codex Petropolitanus. But the latter was brought to Petrograd in the 19th century! Similar, indeed even older, Bible MSS. found their way to the British Museum and to the most valuable collection of Hebrew and Samaritan MSS. of Mr. David S. Sassoon in London. Might we accordingly expect an old Anglo-Saxon translation of the Aramaic Josephus in London or England? All our guessing then seems futile before the relation of the Slavonic texts to the various Josippon texts has been fully examined and settled.

Without, however, waiting for Prof. Istrin's publication and Dr. Eisler's forthcoming essay in the new periodical *Angelos*, we are enabled to elucidate one or two points in the Slavonic texts which are before us in the translation of Dr. Eisler. We propose then to discuss the Jewish background of the assumed Jewish original. The question before us is: Are these texts Jewish? Could a Jew of the first century write such words as are attributed to Josephus?

At the outset we consider the words of the text: "If one may call 'a man' one who, in spite of his human nature and form, made a show of being more than a man by working miracles, through some kind of invisible power." Dr. E. furnishes a very good parallel from *The Acts of Pilate*. We see the influence of the

Acts on the Christian interpolations. Accordingly, Procula, the wife of Pilate, warned the procurator not to sit in judgment on Jesus. She had had a dream. Our text says that Jesus healed Pilate's dying wife. With this the relation of R. Akiba to the wife of the procurator in his days, Tinnæus Rufus, should be compared. The whole sentence quoted above ought to be transferred to the third column of Christian interpolations. Josephus would not and could not call a miracle-worker, either in a good or in a bad sense, a man more than a man, a demi-god. No Jew called Honi, Abba Hilkiyahu, or Haninah b. Dosa by such a term as 'more than men.' They spoke of 'men of deeds' (*Anshe maaseh*)—but no more. A report about Hillel says: "There is a man among us, who is fit for the Holy Spirit"[1]: *Ish echad*, but not *Ish Elohim;* man, but not a God. The times had passed when men were styled by the old title *Ish Elohim*, 'man of God,' which itself does not imply that man can be *more than man.* Greeks might have taught or thought so, but not Jews of the 1st century. They were, rather, scrupulous in refraining from profaning the high conceptions ascribed to and held of God. *Ish* ('a man') meant to the teachers of Josephus' time, a God-fearing, pious and good man. R. Joshua ben Hananya (1st cent.) sees in *Anashim* (men), *Exod.* xvii. 9, men who feared sin.[2] Moreover we are able to furnish more than a dozen passages from ancient Rabbinic writings in which *Ish* ('man') is regarded as one of God's names.[3]

We turn to the second sentence, which says:

[1] *Pal. Sotah*, 24d, *Tosefta Sotah* xiii. 3, *B. Sotah*, 48 b, *Cant. rabba*, viii. 3.

[2] *Mechilta* 53 b; *Sifre Deut.* §323; *Midr. Tannaim*, p. 200.

[3] *Gen. rabba*, ed. Theodor, p. 19; R. Simon ben Yohai, ch. 92, 3; R. Joshua ben Levi, *Midrash Tanhuma*, ed. Buber, iii. 49, iv. 30, 60, 120; *M. Psalms*, ed. Buber, 97; R. Acha, *Numeri rabba*, 9, 1 and 9, 54, etc.

"Considering [his] general character, however, *I* shall certainly not call him an angel." If the writer does not grant him the title of an angel, how then can he call him a demi-god? It is a wide-spread Rabbinic conception that the righteous and pious are called angels, and are superior to the celestial beings. Dr. E. refers in a note to *B. Nedarim* 20 b, showing that it was not at all abhorrent to the Jewish mind to call human beings angels, or messengers of God. The saying thus quoted by Dr. E. was uttered by a Babylonian scholar of the 3rd, or a Palestinian scribe of the 4th century. The saying offers, therefore, very little help for the knowledge of the religious ideas and thoughts prevailing in the time of Josephus. The overwhelming spiritual and far-reaching political changes, which took place between the destruction of the Temple and the last agony of Jewry in Palestine in the 4th century, naturally influenced and greatly altered Jewish religious views and conceptions. We are able to point out many of these changes and alterations which took place, and are due to several causes, even in the doctrine of God. We have, consequently, to search for and examine the continuity or the variation of this or that doctrine. In the case before us we see a certain regularity of teaching. The Ethiopic *Enoch* (57, 4) and *The Ascension of Isaiah* (9, 9) both assert that the righteous are *like* angels. A teacher of the 3rd century, R. Tanhum bar Hanilai, considers them to be higher, greater than angels.[1] The prophets as well as the wise men are called angels. This is taught and proved by several teachers of the Haggadah in the 3rd century (*Lev.* v. 1. 1 and parallels). For some reason or other, which we are not yet able to account for, a more rigid

[1] See *Tanhuma*, ed. Buber, iii. 2; *Midr. Psalms*, 498; *Yalkut Yoel*, §884.

view developed; there grew up a tendency to attribute this angelic nature or character of perfectness to the pious in the next world, in the hereafter, but not in this world. *Now* they are inferior, *then* they will be superior to the angels. R. Abba b. Kahana is generally mentioned as the author of the view: "In future will the place of the righteous be first before that of the angels."[1] R. Levi bar Haninah, or Haytha, opposes this view. These sayings, and others of a similar type, supply us with the views of the 3rd century. We have to come closer to the views held by the 1st and 2nd centuries. Searching a little further we come to the teachings of the earlier periods. We find that R. Eleazar the son of R. Jose the Galilean thought that God loved the Israelites more than the angels.[2] It is one of the several similar passages to which generally objection is taken by modern readers. For our purpose it is sufficient to have shown that to the average Jew of the 2nd century the thought was quite familiar that every Israelite stands as high as an angel. The 3rd century qualified this by limiting this title to the righteous, or even to them only in the hereafter. Jesus, who opposed the Law, and was considered a 'Poshe' Israel, was not honoured by the writer with this title of 'angel,' although many people would call him thus.

Thirdly, the writer quotes the saying of some people, who assumed that the spirit of Moses had appeared in Jesus, had risen from the dead and was now shewing forth many cures. This view is not Christian. Patristic writers are inclined to minimize

[1] *Pal. Sabbath* 8 d; *Deut. rabba*, i. 10; *Pes. rabbathi*, 166 b.

[2] See *Pseudo-Seder Eliyahu sutta*, ed. Friedmann, 47, and quoted anonymously in *Bab. Talmud Hullin*, 91 b.

the worth of Moses at the expense of Jesus. The latter ranks higher than Moses. Jewish annalists and historiographers frequently indulge in pointing out the '*Gilgulim*' of the great teachers of old. Such stood under the influence of the Kabbala, and who can blame them? Did not Plato and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing believe in transmigration? Why not Yechiel Heilprin and others?[1] John the Baptist is a Joshua ben Nun *redivivus*, Jesus a new-born Moses. Was this doctrine current among the Jews of the first centuries? Poznanski asserts: "Before Anan (750 C.E.) we do not find a trace of this teaching (of the transmigration of souls) in Judaism, and it was most probably borrowed from the Moslems." (*Semitic Studies in honour of Dr. Alex. Kohut*, p. 437, n.1.) Gfrörer, however, discovered much earlier the teaching in Rabbinic writings.[2] Balaam is a Laban *redivivus*, Eliyahu a Phinehas *redivivus*. Haggadic lore teaches many more such revivals of good as well as of wicked people. These instances can easily be multiplied. There is no need for this here. We are concerned about the views of Josephus, and he says: "They (the Pharisees) say that all souls are incorruptible, *but the souls of good men are only removed into other bodies*—but the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment" (*Wars*, ii. 8, 14). The 'other bodies' are not celestial bodies, but human bodies, like those of Moses and Jesus.

A few words must be said with reference to the Mount of Olives, where Jesus stayed most of his time. The activity of Jesus, according to *Luke* xxi. 37, was during the daytime in the Temple, where he was

[1] See S. A. Hirsch, *The Cabbalists*, London, 1922, pp. 32-34.

[2] *Das Jahrhundert des Heils*, ii. 83.

teaching; "and at night he went out, and abode in the mount that is called the Mount of Olives." It is also mentioned in *Acts* i. 12. Why on the Mount of Olives? This mount is referred to already in the old apocalypse of *Zechariah*, where it is said: "And his feet shall stand in that day upon the Mount of Olives, which is before Jerusalem on the east, and the Mount of Olives shall cleave in the midst thereof toward the east, etc." (xiv. 4). In the messianology and apocalyptic literature of the Middle Ages this place is repeatedly mentioned. In *The Chapters of the Messiah* the revelation takes place on the Mount of Olives. In *The Signs of the Messiah* the great battle is fought there, likewise in *The Book of Zerubbabel*, to mention only a few of these writings. In the 9th-11th centuries Palestinian Jews under the leadership of their wise men, accompanied by pilgrims from many other countries, arranged great pilgrimages to this place on the Day of Hoshanna (Feast of Tabernacles). The prayers and hymns used on these occasions were of a messianistic character. It is quite natural that the Messiah should stay there and spend most of his time in such a place. The whole material on the importance of the Mount of Olives cannot, however, be discussed in a few lines. It may then suffice to quote here a saying of a teacher belonging to the 3rd cent., R. Jonathan ben Elieser: "The Shekhina stayed for three years and a half on the Mount of Olives calling Israel to repentance."[1] The call for repentance, a chief condition of the messianic age, comes from the Mount of Olives!

Finally we ask leave to draw special attention to two philological points in these texts. The first: "but through his *word* he instigated everything," and

[1] *Lament. rabba*, Introd. no. 25, and parallels.

"he could accomplish everything he would by a *word*." Word and *magic* are the same in this connection. The original may have read: *bedabar* or *bemeltha*. We will quote two passages showing that they imply magic or witchcraft. The first instance: Some scribes were bathing in a public bath in Tiberias. A Min—a heretic, who is generally a master of magic—*amar ma de'amar* ('said what he said'), and the scribes became bound to their place. One of the rabbis *also amar ma de'amar*, and the Min was bewitched. He was standing just in the doorway, where people, coming and going, could not help knocking against him. The two parties finally by mutual agreement freed each other. Then they went to the lake, where the magician was to show his art. Again *amar ma de'amar*, and the lake was rent in two. Thereon he boasted of being able to do great things like Moses. A scribe asked him: Do you admit that our teacher crossed the sea? The Min replied: Yes! The scribe: Well, do the same! He stepped into the sea, and was drowned owing to the scribe's prayer! (*Pal. Sanh.* 25 d.) Another instance from the Babylonian Talmud: Two scholars were sitting in a boat which was about to sail. A lady came asking leave to sail with them. The scholars refused. Then the lady—women are experts in witchcraft!—*amrah ihi meltha*—'said a word,' and the boat was bewitched. Thereon the scholars 'said a word,' and the spell was removed (*B. Sab.* 81 b, and parallels). The plural of *meltha* (word), namely *milim* (words), is also often used in the same sense. Just as R. Joshua ben Hananya in the first story, and the two scholars in the second, are not blamed for their deeds by the *word*, so no blame could be attached to Jesus for doing miracles. His fault was that he instigated

the people by these means not to observe the Law,—a very great sin indeed. Now it is a well-established fact in the heresiologies of all times that the new teachers or prophets, the heresiarchs, are accused of being magicians or sorcerers. Moses and the Jews can serve as classical examples. The Alexandrinian Antisemites repeat this alleged crime of Moses and the Jews again and again.

The second phrase which requires some comment, is the saying of the leaders: "*The bow is bent.*" The expression is borrowed from the Scriptures, and sounded in Hebrew: *ha Kesheth derukha*,[1] which meant: Misfortune is stepping forth to meet us, is pending, about to come upon us. The afore-mentioned apocalypse *The Signs of the Messiah* applies to the coming of the Messiah the words: *darakh Khokab me Yakob*, 'a star comes (or shoots) forth from Jacob' (*Num.* xxiv. 17). The very same verse was referred to Bar Kokhba (a false Messiah) by R. Akiba. It would not be out of place to suggest that it is by no means an accident that the leaders spoke of *Kesheth derukha*. There is no reason for denying that in the earlier messianic movements and expectations the bible-passage may have been used by the followers and adherents of the respective Messiahs. *Darakh Khokab me Yakob* may have been the catch-word of more than one messianic agitation and Messiah. We know that each of the messianic movements of the past two thousand years, which amount to about 300 according to my knowledge, met with a more or less strong opposition among the Jews. The opponents' catch-word was: *ha Keseth derukha*. You preach the advent of a new time, a new glorious age;

[1] Cp. *Is.* 21^{15} *Jer.* 46^{9}, 50$^{14, 29}$; *Zech.* 9^{13}; *Psalms* 11^{2}.

we see in your agitation and Messiah an approaching peril, a danger—in other words: *The bow is bent!*

Some of the points discussed in this paper favour a Jewish original of the Slavonic text, well intermixed of course with Christian interpolations. But we must be very cautious before we ascribe the Jewish original to Josephus himself. It may be that the Hebrew Josippon in one of its types had the passage. It was omitted on account of the censorship in Christian countries. The solution of this question depends on our knowledge of the whole Slavonic Josephus.

This note of warning is not out of place. We know, from quite reliable sources, that the Hebrew Josippon contained a passage about Jesus, which was removed for quite obvious reasons. Giraldus Cambrensis, an English writer of the 12th century, tells us: "But it is thus clear how great is the malice of the Jews, and obstinate and obdurate teaching against their own weal, that even the testimony of their own historian, *and their great historian whose books they have in Hebrew, and consider authentic, they will not accept his testimony about Christ. But Master Robert, the Prior of St. Friedeswide of Oxford*, whom we have seen, and who was a man old and trustworthy, whose latter years coincided with our earlier ones, was a man of letters and skilled in the Scriptures, *nor was he ignorant of the Hebrew tongue.* Now he sent to diverse towns and cities of England in which Jews have dwelling, *from whom he collected many Josephuses written in Hebrew*, gaining them with difficulty, since they were acquainted with him because of his knowing the Hebrew tongue. *And in two of them he found this testimony about Christ written fully and at length, but as if recently scratched out; but in all the rest removed*

earlier, and as if never there. And when this was shown to the Jews of Oxford summoned for that purpose, they were convicted and confused at this fraudulent malice and bad faith towards Christ" (*Opera* viii. 65; see Joseph Jacobs, *The Jews of Angevin England*, London, 1893, pp. 285-286). Surely in Moslem or Pagan environment the Jews did not remove these passages from their Josephus! Such a Josephus was used by the Slavonic translator.

A. MARMORSTEIN.

THE APPLE MYSTERY-PLAY.

A. CAMERON-TAYLER.

TORTURED by an overwhelming and little satisfied interest in the beginnings of things, and in that mysterious and illusive goal towards which Life tends, the human race has always turned with burning curiosity to that which differentiates it from other animals,—namely, its intimate consciousness of an invisible and potent force lying beyond the cognizance of the senses, and immanent in all Being. This perpetual striving after contact with something unknown but divined, this continuous spiritual endeavour, which in its higher manifestations we call religion, is the star which illumines the future of our race,—at once the great hope, and the agonizing and exclusive birthright of man.

The origins of this consciousness are hidden in the grey of time; but we know that, just as in the physical world our bodies are the outcome of long-vanished, far-away conditions, so our modern modes of religious thought, our dogmas, and even our actual ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies, are the direct offspring of the fears, intuitions and hopes of our primitive savage kinsfolk, so long ago dead and gone.

This knowledge makes the study of rituals, whether ancient or modern, indescribably attractive, and even their incomplete relics very important. For, as Dr. Rendel Harris says: "Every surviving fragment of

such a ritual is as valuable to us as a page of an early gospel which time has blurred, or whose first-hand has been over-written. We see through it, down a long vista, across which many shadows are thrown, the reason which made man a religious animal, and not merely the superstition which kept him so."

Important in this connection is a much overlaid fragment of an ancient ritual, used, so we think, in the ceremonial purification and propitiation of an Apple Tree before harvest. This is embedded in a celebrated and once popular threefold poetic cycle by Guillaume de Deguilleville: *Le Pelerinage de la Vie Humaine*, *Le Pelerinage de l'Ame* and *Le Pelerinage de Jesus Christ*.[1] The author (*c.* 1360) was a typical provincial Cistercian monk, who lived about a century and a quarter after the death of S. Francis (1182-1226) and was a much younger contemporary of Dante († 1321). Credulous, garrulous and superstitious, his work owes its enduring interest in part to his literary gifts—words were undoubtedly his natural means of self-expression, and he handles the naïve early French in which he writes with charm and crystalline sincerity—but perhaps more so to his representative limitations. His mentality is artlessly lower middle-class, and mirrors the thoughts, beliefs, imagery and legendary lore rooted in the simple paganism of the country-side which furnished the minds of the bourgeoisie and peasants in the streets of a small French mediæval market-town of the 13th or 14th centuries. It brings us into contact with the naïvely anthropomorphic theology of the day; it not

[1] My attention was first called to this cycle by an article by Dr. Gustave Ludwig on what was then called the '*Madonna am See*,' by Giovanni Bellini (Uffizi), which appeared in the *Jahrbuch der kgl.-preuss. Kunst-sammlungen*, xxiii., 1902, p. 163. The texts I have used are: the illustrated French MS. reproduced by the Roxburghe Club, London, 1895, and Caxton's *incunabulum* of 1483.

only acquaints us with the means by which the Church of the time fanned and utilized the fears and affections of her children, but actually, on one occasion, seems to allow us to be present at what is very nearly the initial process of the transmutation of a Pagan tree-ritual into a Christian 'Mystery,'—a thing which we should expect to happen, but of which I know of no other example. This poem had an immense vogue in Western Europe for about two hundred years. Then came the reformation and the counter-reformation, and with the latter a complete change in religious expression and taste. With this obliteration of mediæval modes of faith, philosophy and superstition it fell into something very like complete oblivion.

But during its day its influence was great. It was put into many European languages. In England, for instance, portions of it were translated by Chaucer, some of these fragments passing, in time, as his original work. A metrical version, afterwards used by John Bunyan in his famous *Pilgrim's Progress*, was made by the monk John Lydgate, in 1426, and later by Skelton, Poet Laureate to Henry VIII. A very beautiful prose version moreover was made by Caxton, and printed in 1483.

More than 70 MS. copies of this mediæval epic exist in the libraries of Europe, some of them elaborately illustrated.

The widespread popularity of the special section in which we are interested—*viz.*, the Christianization of an ancient fruit-tree ritual—is attested by its influence on the subject-matter, not only of the domestic art, pictorial and plastic, of Western Europe, but also of its great monumental ecclesiastical art, into both of which it introduced a new *motif*: an

Apple associated with the Mother Goddess and her Child.[1]

This ancient dramatic fragment is inserted into *Le Pelerinage de l'Ame;* which poem in its turn belongs, speaking roughly, to the type of religious epic invented by the *Trouvères*, such as the *Way of Paradise*, the *Dream of Hell* and the like, which spread in translations all over Western Europe and were widely known to the unlearned bourgeoisie. It also follows, humbly and at a distance, in the footsteps of what was the sublimation and apotheosis of this literature,—Dante's *Divina Commedia.* In it the Soul travels, not however under the guardianship of a Prince of Poetry, but of an Angel with the mentality of a contemporary Cistercian monk, who on every occasion hastens to comment on the event witnessed from the point of view of the mediæval churchman.

On leaving Hell this couple debouch on a wide mysterious plain, on which are two trees,—the one "drye, without any manner of lustynesse, or verdure," the other "fayre and greene, ful freshe and lusty to look on." Beneath the latter are a multitude of 'pilgrims' who play ball with its fruit: an Apple. As the Angel explains:

"These, whom ye see there
Playing to relieve their pain,
Have found under that tree
An Apple which brings them solace
Whenever they are sad." (From the Fr.)

[1] As notable and easily accessible examples in England we would point to the Giovanni Bellini 'Madonna and Child,' the Gentile Bellini 'Enthroned Madonna' (Mond Collection), the little Francesco Morone 'Madonna and Child,' and two or three large Altar-pieces by Crevelli, all from Northern Italy and all in the National Gallery. Also to cases of small French 14th and 15th century ivory Madonnas in the South Kensington Museum.

He goes on to say, in words drawn from the craft of the fruiticulturist, that at the very entrance into Purgatory the Soul will find the sacramental Tree, which is the Holy Virgin, the Mother of God,[1] the Sacred Bearer of the Divine Apple, which is the mystic food of the Divine in Man. He further shows how Man, himself, eating of this fruit, and becoming what he eats, is lifted out of the sinful into the sinless, out of the mortal into immortality. This really great concrete experience passes, imperceptibly, into what seems to be a long discourse from the scholastically trained Angel on the scheme of Man's salvation, but is really an elaborate prologue to a 'Passion Play,' or 'Mystery,' into which we presently find we have inadvertently slipped.

This 'Mystery' is enacted on the typical three-tiered mediæval stage: Heaven above and Hell below, separated from each other by Purgatory (a place little distinguishable sometimes from the Earth), these three phases of Life being conceived *sub specie æternitatis*. The *dramatis personæ* are seven: God the Father; God the Son; God the Holy Ghost; the Dry Tree; the Green Tree; the Apple, who appears and suffers, but never speaks; and the Lady Justice, with the drawn sword.

The actors in the first scene (which is obviously misplaced in the poem) are the three Persons of the Trinity. From Heaven, *i.e.* from the upper tier of the theatre (I picture the play as taking place in the market-place outside a cathedral), they look down on the Earth (the second tier) and there they see a barren plain, and at its heart the Dry Tree, bare, sapless,

[1] This is of course a mediæval Christian gloss, and should be studied under the heading: 'Tree of Jesse.'

desolate, its deplorable condition brought about by Adam's disobedience. The nature of his sin has already been explained in the prologue: he had plucked its fruit from the Tree in the centre of the Garden "before its time was come," *i.e.* before it was ripe, thus breaking a divine tabu. That sin reacted on himself, and on his fruit, which was no longer "holsome ne lusty," but only fit "to be caste to the swyne."

The Trinity searched for a means by which both the injured and the injurer should be redeemed. But the case is a hard one; for Adam had sinned, not only against the Tree, which he might have been able to propitiate, but against God, to whom, as immeasurably his superior, he could make no amends. He was somewhat in the position of a peasant who had stained the honour of an Emperor, *i.e.* of one to whom by no manner of means could he give satisfaction. The '*villein*' in such a case could be treated in one way only: elimination. But Adam could not be eliminated; he had been made in the image of God, and was immortal! A sin against a God could be expiated by a God only. It was a great dilemma. The solution lay close at hand, but it was a terrible one. A God must sacrifice himself. And there the Trinity sat on high, in the sight of the onlookers of the market-place, Three Gods, all eligible for sacrifice, staring at one another. Which of them was it to be? Hardly the Creator and Sustainer of all Things. Hardly the Spirit of Wisdom. Only the Son remained; and He shrank from the task.

"Quod he [gloomily]: 'This wol ben a wonder grevous thynge to that persone that shal take it on hande.' Quod the Fader: 'Thou sayest ful soothe.

Yet wold I praye Thee to taken this occupacion: but of Thine own plesaunce. . . . The trespas is special to Thee that are wytte and wysedom, for so the serpent behyght [promised] Adam, that he should be as wyse as we Three. Wherefore good ryte it is that Thou, in Thy person that art very wysedom, showe to man in soothenesse that all worldly wytte is follye; and teche hym what very wysedome is.' "

And so it was. The Son reluctantly consented.

"'Swete Fader,' quod he, 'what mischyf and dysease hath caused this Appyl, that I must beren all the peyn?' Quod the Fader: 'Thyselven shal descend, and become an Appyl to that end, that by Thee, the Drye Tree may be re-established of that other Appyl of which she was wrongfully despoyled. So shalt Thou be mene and medyator between synful manne and me. For soothely as soon as I see Thee thus become an Appyl, therewith will I ben appeased. But Thou must needs suffer Thyselven to be beten so that the juce may issuen forth from Thee, for that juce will I receven for ful amendys for the old Trespas.' "

In the second act the interest is shifted from the upper tier, the abode of the Gods, to the middle tier, the place of human purification, now enriched by several actors. Beside the Dry Tree rises the Green Tree of which we heard in the prologue, and between them stands a crowned "lady of ful fyers[1] semblant," with a drawn sword in her hand: the Lady Justice. The branches of the Green Tree, moreover, are garnished with one splendid Apple, and in them is a "ladye hyd, that with ful huge diligence keepeth the Appyl and the Appyl Tree, so that none should them hurten ne harmen by unskylful touchynge. The Ladye was the

[1] Fr. '*fier*.'

floure and fayre blosome of this tree, her whytenesse passed the snowe, more swete smellynge was she than baume, more brighter than either sonne or mone; she was sister to the aungels and was clyped 'Virgynite.'"

Of this lovely lady Justice, in a long theological speech, demands her Apple, in order to nail it to the Dry Tree for its redemption and that of man; and of her it is firmly and politely refused. "'With shamefastnesse and symplenesse,' quod she, 'wyl I keep this Appyl that no wyght ne hurt the tre ne the fruyte.'" And then, being a great lady and law-abiding, she asks that a Court of Justice be called, in which she might plead her case in all form; and this for the strange reason that "Alexandre, the great King, who was sometyme in a ful fer and savage country, found there two trees that be clepen of the sonne and mone, which trees told hym his fortunes that lyked hym but littyl." Justice granted her request; and the two trees stand forth in full form as Oracular Trees to plead their cause. And thus is inaugurated the '*disputa*,' or, as Deguilleville calls it, '*l'altercation piteuse entre l'arbre verd et l'arbre sec*.'

The very able pleading which follows, establishes four points: (1) That it is Adam's sin that has devastated the Dry Tree. (2) That the Apple on the Green Tree is in the true descent of the Apple picked out of time by Adam. (3) That its sacrifice would result in the complete re-establishment in health and innocence of both the Dry Tree and of Adam and his descendants. (4) That the fact that the Apple was not only sinless, but divinely holy, and therefore of potent redemptive power, did not justify its forcible execution.

"'Force is nouther ryght nor reson,' said Justice.

'And sythe that everiche [every one] hath lyberty and lordshyppe in his owne persone, whyle that he disobeyeth nought to God, [we] shall nought unryght . . . ordenen, in prejudice of this lyberte. . . . Yf this Appyl is virtuous, that virtue is his owne, and his owne lyberte. We owne not for his goodness to do him unryght, but let him have his preysynge [praise] as he well is worthy for his fayre virtue.' "

So sentence is given that the Green Tree may keep her fair Apple. But it then comes out that the Apple is of divine origin, and by "trytys of the Trynity" has come down from heaven in order to satisfy justice and revive the effaced God in man. Justice then passes another sentence decreeing the sacrifice of the Apple.

In the third act this sentence is executed. The Apple is nailed to the Dry Tree, and during its long and bloody passion is keened by the Virgin-Mother.

" At this point the Apple-tree
Began to weep and to lament
And to wring its branches.
And with a loud voice, cried
' He,[1] God the Father, how cruel thou canst be !'" etc.

(From the Fr.)

Frantic with grief she calls on the Father, on the Holy Ghost, Elizabeth, Gabriel, the Sun, the Moon, the Earth, on her friends, and on the human race. But gradually her emotion softens, becomes nobler. No longer the outraged earthly mother, but the Mother Church, she turns to her bleeding Son, and in thought, to the race He has redeemed.

[1] Fr. '*hélas.*'

"He,[1] Sons of Adam, see my bruised
Apple, who hath been beaten and torn.
From his body pours the juice in floods.
Drink, drink, for nothing is more sweet!
Drink, make yourselves drunken of his love."

(From the Fr.)

And with this picture of Christ nailed to the once Dry Tree, which is now resplendent with verdure and blossom, this 'Mystry' comes to an end, and the poem resumes its normal metre and character.

What is most striking in this strange and passionate little play is its tree-animism. Its chief actors are trees, and its centre an Apple, which is not a holy fruit only, but a god, whose sacrificial agony is offered, as from an equal, to the Supreme Deity, in expiation of a long-ago broken fruit-tree tabu, a crime which has not only devastated the tree sinned against, but the person and descendants of the offender, and will continue to do so throughout all time unless the penalty attached to the sacrilege be paid and the divine anger appeased. Not only, moreover, is the stricken race redeemed by the self-oblation of the Apple, but, as we have seen, its natural life-principle is raised to a higher power by the collective drinking of the ex-pressed apple-juice,—nay, more, it is lifted through this sacrament into participation with the divine life.

The mere formulation of its subject-matter exposes its origin. Stripped of its Christian accessories, which are superficial and adjusted with difficulty to the conceptions they clothe rather than embody, what lies before us is obviously an overwritten fragment of a

[1] Fr. '*hélas*.'

Pagan ritual celebrating the 'passion' of a Cider-god, with parallels to which we have been familiarized by Sir James Frazer,[1] Dr. Robert Eisler,[2] Dr. Farnell[3] and others, in their accounts of the 'passions' of the Vegetation Gods, whose life-blood also is the vehicle of 'divine' possession: the 'passions' of Dionysus, Bacchus, Osiris, and others, among whom our own John Barleycorn must not be forgotten.

Nor must it be forgotten that Deguilleville's poem, in which this play is somewhat whimsically inserted, originated in the French cider-making provinces. Its many translations, together with the works of pictorial and plastic art derived from it, are to be found chiefly in cider-districts,—in France, England, Belgium and Holland, and markedly in Northern Italy, more especially in Venice, which in the 15th century was one of the great *emporia* of the French trade with the East and the seat of a large French colony. But the evidence in justification of our thesis must be reserved for another paper, as it cannot be done justice to in a few pages.

A. Cameron-Tayler.

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[1] *The Golden Bough*, *passim*, specially 'The Dying God,' pp. 20-25, and *Adonis*, *Attis*, *Osiris*, pp. 195ff.

[2] *Orphisch-dionysische Mysterien-gedanken in der christlichen Antike*, Leipzig, 1925, pp. 234-248.

[3] *Cults of the Greek States*, iii. 1 and 2.

MANDÆAN AND OTHER SAVIOUR-LORE PARALLELS TO THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

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[IN the last number, under the title 'A New Background for the Fourth Gospel,' was given a summary of Prof. Bultmann's outstanding contribution to the study of Mandæan and other documents relative to some of the leading ideas of the christology of the Fourth Gospel, entitled "Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandäischen und manichäischen Quellen für das Verständnis der Johannesevangeliums,' in the May number of the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Giessen, Töpelmann), xxiv. 100-146. The following extraordinarily interesting parallels to the Fourth Gospel from the recently opened-up literature, which establishes the existence of a pre-Christian Oriental Salvation-myth of a quite distinctive character, are now, with Prof. Bultmann's permission, given in English translation, from the Greek texts or from the German versions of the Oriental texts assembled by him. There is a very large number of sub-references in support of the main passages in this scientific methodical study; these are, however, omitted, as the versions given are for the benefit of the general reader and not for scholars who must work on the full text of this very detailed exposition.—ED.]

1. *The Revealer is the eternal Divine Being that was in the Beginning.*

Jn. 17$_5$: "And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self with the glory which I had with thee before the world was."[1]

[1] [For the gospel-passages the Revised Version is used. Prof. B. quotes them in Greek; but, tempting as it is to venture one's own version, it might lie under the suspicion of accommodation.—TR.]

Mand. Lit., p. 134: The Messenger is the 'Original First,' the 'Son of the First Great Life."[1]

G.R. III. 73, p. 70, 1f.: The 'Life' speaks to Mandā d'Haiyē [Gnosis of Life], the Messenger:

"Before the Uthras (perhaps: Angels) existed,
hath the Great (Life) fashioned and commissioned thee."

(Cp. G.R. III. 97f., pp. 75-77: All good is 'older' than the bad.)

Od. Sal. 28$_{17}$: "They sought my death, but found it not,
for I was older than their name."[2]

Od. Sal. 41$_{15}$:

"The Anointed is One in truth
and was known before the foundation of the world."

2. *He is sent into the World by the Father.*

Jn. 17$_{21}$: "That the world may believe that thou didst send me."

Accordingly God is called (6 times) "the Father who sent me" or simply (19 times) "he who sent me."

Mandæans and Manichæans know the 'Messenger' or alternatively different 'Messengers.' As is frequently the case, the Mandæan literature is here especially instructive. In it the view which the Fourth Gospel indicates often only in brief and technical turns of expression, takes shape in more or less clear or detailed scenes.

Thus in ch. 66 of the Mandæan John-book (L. pp. 222f.) the moment of the sending to earth is depicted by means of a dialogue between Father and Son. The Father speaks to the Son: "Come, my son, be for me an envoy, come, be for me a bearer (*sc.* of

[1] Mandäische Liturgien, translated and explained by M. Lidzbarski, Göttingen, 1920. The references are to L.'s pages. So also to the chapters and pages of L.'s translation of the Johannesbuch der Mandäer (Giessen, 1915). I have to thank Lidzbarski for his kindness in enabling me to use as well the proof-sheets of his Translation of the Mandæan Right-hand Genzā (G.R.). I add L.'s pages to the usual method of reference.

[2] Refs. to Odes of Solomon are to H. Gressman's Translation in Hennecke's Neutest. Apokryphen (2nd ed., 1924); I but seldom make any alteration.

instructions) and tread down the rebellious earths. . . . Clothe thyself in the pain of the world and go into the world of the darkness." Ch. 63, which treats of the sending of the Mānā, begins: "A voice calls to us out of the height. It [Great Life] chose a Mānā and sent him to us" (p. 217).

In ch. 65 of the John-book the Messenger himself speaks: "When I came here, the Great [Life] had sent me to accomplish somewhat, . . ." (p. 221). In like fashion in the Mandæan Liturgies (p. 190) he says:

"In the beginning I came forth in a cloud
out of thee, O shining home!
In the beginning I came forth in a cloud
out of the building which Great (Life) built. . . .
It sent me to accomplish a building."

Similarly G.R. II. 64, p. 58, 17f.:

"Light's Messenger am I,
whom the Great hath sent into this world."

Praises are sung to him in the Liturgies (p. 134): "Praise be to the Primal First, the Son of the first Great Life, whom Life created, equipped [or armed] and sent forth into the ages. Thou comest. . . ."

So also in the Zarathustra Fragment[1] we read:

"Hail to thee from the world of joy,
from which I am sent for thy sake."

In the prayer of ch. 156 of the Acts of Thomas, which founds entirely on the notion of the Hades-journey myth, the Redeemer is invoked as: "The Son sent unto us in love for man from the perfect native-land above" (p. 265, 9); similarly in the prayer of ch. 10 (p. 115, 4): "The Envoy sent from the height and descended unto Hades." The Gnostic Menander (according to Euseb. H.E. III. 26, 1; cp. Iren. I. 23, 5) maintained that he was "the Saviour sent from somewhere above out of the invisible æons for the salvation of men."

How very much the idea of 'being sent' is a religious technical term in the circle of this piety is

[1] M. 7, in Reitzenstein, Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium, 1921, p. 8.

shown by the fact that the sacrament, or at least the power working in it, is 'sent.'

Thus as to the holy oil we read in the Mandæan Liturgies (86): "Life laid his hand on thee, O Oil, and sent thee into this world. . . ." And in the Acts of Thomas (c. 52, p. 168, 15ff.) the prayer of the consecration of the water begins:

"Come, O waters from the Living Waters,
The real from the Real, sent unto us.
O rest from Rest, sent unto us,
O power of salvation, come from that Power!"

3. *He is come into the World.*

Jn. 1_{10}: "He came unto his own."
3_{19}: "That the light is come into the world."
9_{36}: "For the judgment I came into the world."
12_{46}: "I am come as light into the world."
16_{28}: "I came out from the Father, and am come into the world."

Cp. especially the phrase 'descended out of heaven,' Jn. 3_{13}, 6 *passim*.

Parallels hereto are found in the rest of the texts, frequently of course in connection with passages where the subject is the sending of the Saviour; some of them have already been quoted above. To them I add the following:

G.R. III. 89, p. 91, 1ff.:

"A beloved Son comes,
who was formed from the bosom of glory.
He comes with the enlightenment of Life
with the command which his Father gave.
He comes in the vesture of living fire
And repairs to his world."

G.R. II., 64, p. 57, 33ff.:

"When I came, I the Messenger of Light,
the king, I who came here from the Light,
I came, fellowship and glory in my hand,
light and praisegiving upon me."

John-book, ch. 26 (p. 94f.): Mandā d'Haiyē speaks: "I am come to thee, O soul, whom Life hath sent into this world.

In the robes of the Eight I went into the world. I went in the vesture of Life and came into the world."

John-book, ch. 13 (p. 57): The Envoy speaks to Adam: "I have come and will instruct thee, O Adam, and redeem thee out of this world. Hearken and hear and let thyself be instructed and ascend to Light's region victorious."

John-book, ch. 64 (pp. 219, 220): "I have repaired to this world to plant Life's planting. . . . I am come hither to call forth Life's call."

Before in G.R. III. 103 (p. 112) we read of Mandā d'Haiyē's being sent to Adam:

"I appeared to her (the soul) in bodily form
and sat by her in glory.
Glory from the great Mānā I spread o'er her
out of which he (Adam) had been fashioned.
I sat by him and instructed him on that
which Life had commissioned me."

Cp. further from the John-book the phrase "from the Light-region have I come forth" (pp. 172, 173, 242).

Mand. Lit., p. 125: "Thou hast come, thou comest, save thee no one hath come."

Mand. Lit., p. 88, Mandā d'Haiyē is addressed: "Thou . . . comest down and makest us to dwell at the sources of Life. . . . Thou showest us the way on which thou hast come out of Life's house."

In the Manichæan hymn analyzed by Reitzenstein (Iran. Erlösungsmyst, pp. 19-28) the Messenger speaks: "And I have come, I who will save from the Evil [one]."

In the Turfan-Fragment M. 42 (Reitzenstein, Hist. Zeitschr. 126, 1922, p. 9), we read: ". . . for my sake Zor(o)hušt [Zarathustra] descended to rule from Pars (Persia) and showed the truth . . . ," and thereafter mention is made of the wrath of Satan at the 'descent' of Z.

In Fragment M. 64 (F. W. K. Müller, Ab. d. Preuss. Akad., 1904, pp. 92f.) a similar mention is made of the 'coming' of Mānī.

Just as in Mart. Pauli et Petri c. 15 (p. 182, 10) the Magian Simon says to Nero: "I am the Son of God who came down from heaven," so also the Prophet whose story Celsus tells in Origen (Orig. c. C. vii. 9, p. 161, 6ff. Koetschau) declares: "I am

God or child of God or divine spirit. I am come; for now is the world being destroyed. . . . "[1]

4. *He is withal One with the Father.*

Jn. 10$_{30}$: "I and the Father are one."

8$_{16}$: "I am not alone, but I and the Father that sent me."

8$_{29}$: "And he who sent me is with me; he hath not left me alone; for I do always the things that are pleasing to him."

16$_{22}$: "And I am not alone, because the Father is with me."

The parallel idea is found again in a Mandæan text which depicts at length the scene of the despatch of the Messenger.

G.R. III. 72, p. 68, 13ff.: When Mandā d'Haiyē, who is to be sent to the earth, asks the Great Mānā: "If I seek for thee, to whom shall I look? If I am in affliction, in whom shall I have trust? On what shall I stay my inner [part] that was with you?"—he receives the consolation: "Thou shalt not be cut off from us; we will much more be with thee. All that thou sayest, stands firm with us. Thou art confirmed with us and shalt not be cut off from us. We are with thee, for Life is full of goodness to thee." Similarly in an analogous scene of the John-book (p. 223) the 'Great' assures the 'First, his Son' of his help during his sojourn on earth.

G.R. IV. 130 (p. 146): "The Lord of the Greatness says to Hibil-Zīwā [Abel]:

"Let thy discourse be our discourse,
let it be united with us and not be cut off."

G.R. XV. 1, 299f. (p. 296):

"Dread not and fear not
and say not: I stand alone.
If dread cometh on thee,
we will all be with thee. . . ."

Act. Joh. c. 100 (p. 201, 11f.): "For know that I am wholly with the Father and the Father with me." (The context is entirely mythological.)

[1] On the lingering influence of the motive of 'being come from heaven' cp. E. Norden, Die Geburt des Kindes, 1924, pp. 48-50.

Od. Sal. 21, 5:

"But still more helpful to me was the counsel of the Lord
and indestructible fellowship with him."

Od. Sal. 41, 9ff.:

"For the Father of truth hath remembered me,
he who had preserved me from the beginning.
For his treasure (= Uthra!) hath begotten me
and the thought of his heart,
and his word is with us
on all our way."

Od. Sal. 22, 6: "Thou wast with me and didst help me,
in all places thy name did surround me."[1]

5. *The Father has armed him with full Authority.*

Jn. 5_{27}: "He gave him authority to execute judgment."
17_2: "Even as thou gavest him authority over all flesh."

G.R. III. 73, p. 70, 3ff.:

"The Great [Life] hath created and commissioned thee,
armed, commissioned, sent thee forth,
and given thee full authority o'er all things."

Mand. Lit., p. 260: "Pure one, go forth and do all that thou desirest." (Cp. also the arming of the Messenger, and of Hibil Zīwā in G.R.). Reitzenstein has indeed notably pointed out the same myth in the first piece of the Corpus Hermeticum. There in §12 we are told of the Mind (Noûs): "He gave over all his own creative works (to the 'Man')," so that the latter can be charac-

[1] The helping of the 'name' depends from the notion of the magic name which the Saviour brings with him from the height. Thus it is with many of the Gnostics, cp. Bousset, Hauptprobleme der Gnosis, pp. 240f. In Jn. 17_6 the idea is spiritualized: "I manifested thy name unto the men whom thou gavest me out of the world." Cp. Mand. Lit., p. 193:

"By the power of mighty Life spake he,
and revealed hidden mysteries.
Hidden mysteries revealed he,
and spread glory over his friends."

Cp. also Od. Sal. 42, 19f.: "But I heard their voice, and laid my name on their heart." Further Jn. 17_{11}: "Keep them in thy name which thou hast given me"; 17_{26}: "And I made known unto them thy name, and will make it known, that the love wherewith thou lovest me may be in them, and I in them." According to G.R. I. 18, p. 20, 16f., the 'name of the First' is set up on the head of the faithful. In G.R. II. 1, 52, p. 47, 25f. they are exhorted: "Let his name be in your heart and your mouth."

terized in §14 as "he who has the whole authority over the world [of mortals and of irrational lives]." As the [Heavenly] Man is now fallen into Nature, man has become a dual being: "For though immortal and having the authority over all things, he suffers in subjection to Fate" (§15). And of the redeemed the same holds good (§32): "Thy Man would be holy as thou art, even as thou gavest him the full authority."

6. *He possesses Life and bestows Life.*

Jn. 5 21-26: "For as the Father raiseth the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son also quickeneth whom he will. . . . He that heareth my word, and believeth him that sent me, hath eternal life, and cometh not into judgment, but hath passed out of death into life. . . . The hour cometh, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live. For as the Father hath life in himself, even so gave he to the Son also to have life in himself."

Jn. 10 10: "I came that they may have life, and may have [it] abundantly."

Mand. Lit., p. 184 (of the Messenger): "Life rested in his mouth."

Mand. Lit., p. 196: "Thou camest out of Life's house,
thou camest. What did'st thou bring us?
I brought you that ye die not
and your soul shall not be hindered.
For the day of death I brought you life,
for the gloomy day joy."

Mand. Lit., p. 199: "The sweet savour[1] came out of its abode,
the truth came out of its region.
The sweet savour came out of its abode,
it came and settled in the house [sc. world].
It calls and quickens the dead,
it rouses and quickens them that lie low.
He waked the souls,
who are zealous and worthy of Light's region."

G.R. II. 8, 64, p. 58, 28f.:

[1] Cp. II. Cor. 2 15f.: "For we are a sweet savour of Christ," etc.

"Life's Messenger am I;
every one who smells his sweet savour, gets life."

G.R. I. 29, p. 80: "Enōš-Uthra [Enoch] comes into the world with the power of the high King of Light. He heals the sick, makes the blind see, cleanses the lepers, makes straight the crippled, . . . so that they can walk, makes the dumb speak and gives life to the dead. He wins believers from among the Jews and shows them: there is death and there is life, there is darkness and there is light, there is error and there is truth."

G.R. V 3. 180, p. 183: "I named to them the name of Life, the name of Life they did not understand. I named to them the name of death, the name of death they did not understand." (Here the subject is the sojourn of the souls who have left the world, in a guard-house on the way to the beyond; but the sequel shows that this sojourn again is thought of in the form of the salvation-myth, and is moreover essential to it as the content of the revelation-proclamation is generally stated.)

In the Manichæan Turfan-Fragment M. 1 (F. W. K. Müller, Abh. Berl. Ak., 1912, Abh. V. 16) the Manichæan hymn-book is characterized as 'full of living words."

Od. Sal. 10, 2f.:

"He made his deathless life dwell in me
and gave me to speak of the fruit of his salvation,
to convert the souls of those who would come to him,
to lead captive the noble captivity to freedom."

Od. Sal. 22, 8-11:

"Thou chosest them out of the graves
and separatedst them from the corpses,
thou tookest their dry bones
and clothedst them with bodies.
Thou gavest the motionless strength to live;
incorruptibility was thy way and thy face."

Od. Sal. 42, 14-18:

"I found the community of the Living among his dead
and discoursed to them with living lips. . . ."

Act. Joh. c. 98, p. 200, 7ff. The heavenly Christ receives the designations 'resurrection' and 'life' alongside the attributes 'door,' 'way,' 'bread,' 'seed,' 'truth,' 'faith,' and 'grace.'

7. *He leads out of Darkness into Light.*

Jn. 8^{19}: "And this is the judgment, that the light is come into the world, and men loved the darkness rather than the light."

8^{12}: "I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in the darkness, but shall have the light of life."

9$^{39-41}$: "For judgment came I into this world, that they which see not may see; and that they which see may become blind. . . . If ye were blind, ye would have no sin: but now ye say, We see: your sin remaineth."

The 3rd piece of Book II. of the Mandæan G.R. (pp. 57-61) is the proclamation of the Messenger of the Light concerning his manifestation in the world and his activity. The beginning (64, pp. 57ff.) runs:

"When I came, I the Messenger of the Light,
the king, I who came hither from the Light,
then came I, fellowship and glory in my hand,
light and laud on me,
glory about me and illumination,
calling in me and proclamation,
the sign (of the unction) and baptism in me,
and to the dark hearts gave I enlightenment."

And later on (64, p. 58);

"The Light's Messenger am I;
every one who smells his sweet savour, gets Life.
Every one who receives his discourse,
his eyes are filled with Light."

G.R. V 8. 79, p. 182: "Mandā d'Haiyē revealed himself to all the children of men and freed them from the darkness into the light, from the gloom into the light of Life."

John-book c. 57 (p. 204): "For the men of piety put to the test who clothed themselves with me, was their eye filled full of light. Full of light was their eye, and in their heart Mandā d'Haiyē took seat."

Mand. Lit., p. 128: "He separated the light from the darkness, separated good from evil, separated life from death. He

separated out the friends of his Kušṭâ [Truth]-name from darkness to light, from evil to good, from death to life."

Od. Sal. 11, 18f.: "Blessed are they who . . . have departed from darkness to light."

As the Saviour says of himself in Act. Joh. c. 95 (p. 198, 11): "I am a lamp to thee who beholdest me," so in Act. Thom. c. 157 (p. 267, 1) he is invoked as "he who showeth life to those in the darkness."[1]

But not all are willing to see the light.

John-book c. 47 (p. 175): "I shewed it him into his eye, yet would he not see; I shewed it him, yet would he not see with his eye."

John-book c. 50 (p. 179): "If a man blinds his eyes with his own hand, who shall for him be a physician? If any man destroys his way with his own horns [*sic*], who shall for him be a way-builder?"

John-book c. 57 (p. 203): "The evil are blind and see not. I call them unto the light, yet they bury themselves in the darkness."

Mand. Lit., p. 222:

". . . I have called to him into his ear, yet would he not hear;
I have called to him, yet would he not hear with his ear.
I have shewed it him into his eye, yet would he not see:
I have showed him, yet would he not see with his eye.
Therefore shall he on the great Day of the End to an end come."

Here therefore, just as in the Fourth Gospel and in a certain stratum of the Hellenistic literature, the concepts of Life and Light belong together. For the Corpus Hermeticum cc. I., VII. and XIII. are characteristic.[2]

8. *To the paired concepts Life and Death, Light and Dark-*

[1] References to the Manichæan literature for the pair of opposites Light and Darkness are unnecessary.

[2] Cp. G. P. Wetter, Phos, 1915, and Bousset, Kyrios Christos,[2] pp. 174-176.

ness, there corresponds in the Fourth Gospel, as in the comparative literature, the pair Truth and Lie.

Jn. 14$_6$: "I am the way, and the truth, and the life."

8$_{31f.}$: "If ye abide in my word . . . ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

8$_{44f.}$: "Ye are of *your* father the devil,[1] and the lusts of your father it is your will to do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and stood not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a [*lit.* the] lie, he speaketh of his own; for he is a liar and the father thereof. But because I say the truth, ye believe me not."

Mand. Lit., p. 77: "Thou didst take us out of death and unite us with life, thou didst take us out of darkness and unite us with light, thou didst take us out of evil and unite us with good. Thou didst shew us the way of life and make us walk in the paths of truth and of faith. . . . "

Mand. Lit., p. 199: "Look on these souls who go forth from collapse to upbuilding, from error to truth. . . . "

Ibid., p. 153: "Receive the truth,
with which I have instructed you."

Ibid., p. 165: "Be ye set up and made firm, my chosen,
by the discourse of truth which hath come unto you.
The discourse of truth came to the good,
the true discourse to the faithful."

Ibid., p. 198: "Thy eyes are eyes of the lie,
my eyes are eyes of the truth.
The eyes of the lie grow dark
and see not the truth."

Ibid., p. 199; "The sweet savour came out of its abode,
the truth came out of its region."

G.R. I. 15, p. 17: " . . . With truthfulness and faith and pure discourse of the mouth set free the souls: from darkness to light, from error to truth. . . . "

[1] Only 'the devil' needs to be struck out of the text as a false interpretation. Nor is the probable reference to Cain, but to some mythical figure.

John-book c. 14, p. 62: The house of Great Life is the region "where no lie is."

Od. Sal. 1, 1f.: "The Lord is upon my head like a wreath, . . .
the wreath of truth is woven for me."

Od. Sal. 11, 3-5; "I hastened on the way of his salvation,[1]
on the way of truth.
From the beginning unto the end
I received his gnosis.
I was firm founded on the rock of truth,
where he himself has set me."

Od. Sal. 12, 1f.: "He filled me with the word of truth,
that I should make it known;
like to a stream of water
streams truth out of my mouth."

(Cp. also the following.)

Od. Sal. 18, 6: "Let not the light be vanquished by the darkness,
nor let truth retreat from the lie."

Od. Sal. 31, 1f.: "The depths melted before the Lord,
and the darkness vanished before his face.
Error lost itself and disappeared before him,
folly was seized with dread
so that it sank down before the truth of the Lord."

Act. Joh. c. 143, p. 200, 9: The heavenly Christ along with other titles which belong to this context bears the designation 'truth.'

Act. Thom. c. 148, p. 250, 11ff. (of Jesus): "He is the truth that lieth not . . . . And the ruler bore witness who and whence he is, and knew not the true, since he is a stranger to truth."

In contrast with him the world is "filled full of delusion, filled full of deception and lying" (Mand. Lit., p. 161); and over and over again warning is given against the lie. The equation by the Manichæans of the Evil one with deception and delusion is well known.[2] As Zarathustra, according to the Turfan-Fragment

[1] Gressman: 'peace' [so also Harris and Mingana—Tr.].

[2] Cp. Reitzenstein, Histor. Zeitschr. 126 (1922), p. 34, 1. The significance of the pair of opposites truth and lie is as early as the Gāthās, ibid. p. 18.

M. 42, came down to manifest the truth,[1] so conversely the unfaithful soul is tormented in hell by the lying demoness,[2] according to Fragments T. II. D. 169 and T. II. D. 178. For the Manichæan literature, however, detailed references are hardly necessary.

9. *The Messenger is without Fault and Lie.*

Jn. 7$_{18}$: "But he that seeketh the glory of him that sent him, the same is true, and no unrighteousness is in him."

8$_{29}$: "He hath not left me alone; for I do always the things that are pleasing to him."

8$_{45f.}$: "But because I say the truth, ye believe me not. Which of you convicteth me of sin? If I say truth, why do you not believe me?"

8$_{55}$: " . . . but I know him; and if I should say I know him not, I shall be like unto you, a liar."

G.R. II 8, 65, p. 59: "The true Messenger am I,
in whom is no lie,
the true [one], in whom no lie is,
nor in him is defect and fault. . . . .
A vine are we, Life's vine,
a tree in which is no lie."

John-book c. 66 (p. 224): "Thereon I accomplished in order the works which my Father had laid upon me. I depressed the darkness and raised up the light in lofty mass. Without fault I ascended, and defect and fault was not in me."

Cp. also the self-justification of Šum-Kušṭā [Shem the Trusty] in John-book c. 15 (pp. 63f.), especially the end: "I have kept myself spotless; hence have I no fear of this world (Tibil). . . ."

In the second book of the Book of the Dead of the Left-hand Genzā stress is frequently laid upon the fact that the Primal (or Original) Man (the Mānā) has remained pure and sinless, has despised and scorned the world-ruler and the Seven (the Planets) and at the Father's call fearlessly ascended of his own power.[3] So also in the first book we read of Adam, the chosen,

[1] Reitzenstein, *loc. cit.*, p. 9.
[2] Reitzenstein, Iran. Erlösungsmyst., pp. 32ff.
[3] Reitzenstein, *ibid.*, p. 47.

pure, sinless, who in the power of Great Life had taken his seat, it is true, in the midst of the rulers of this world, but kept himself separate from them.[1] Moreover the Messenger is continually characterized by the terms, the chosen, the pure, the man of righteousness put to the test, just as in the Ethiopic Enoch the 'Son of Man' is called the righteous, the chosen, the chosen of righteousness and fidelity.

In the Turfan-Fragment T. II. D. 173a[2] (A. v. Le Coq, Abh. d. Preuss. Ak., 1911) it is said correspondingly of the individual soul: "Oppression and deception is not among us .... In thy power unendangered have we gone, unendangered have we come; we have carried out fully the things commanded by thee."

Od. Sal. 10, 5: "But I was not spotted by sins."

The motive of the sinlessness and faithfulness of the Messenger is elaborated at length in the farewell-prayer of Act. Thom. c. 144-147 (pp. 250-255), where it is transferred to the Apostle Thomas.

10. *He does the works which his Father has enjoined upon him.*

Jn. 5_{36}: "For the works which the Father hath given me to accomplish, the very works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me."

9_4: "We must work the works of him that sent me, while it is day."

17_4: "... having accomplished the work which thou hast given me to do."

$19_{28,30}$: "... Jesus, knowing that all things are now finished, ... said: It is finished."

John-book c. 66 (p. 222): The Father speaks to the Son: "My Son, come, be for me an envoy, come, be for me a bearer (of instructions). ..." (p. 224): "Thereon I carried out in order the works which my Father had laid upon me."

John-book c. 55 (p. 196): Hibil (Abel) laments on earth: "How long shall I bear and endure the works on my neck?"

Mand. Lit., p. 252: The Great Life speaks to the chosen, pure, First-created: "Go, accomplish thy works ..."

G.R. III. 88, p. 90:

[1] Ibid., p. 48.

"As the Great wills it,
so was it forthwith.
As the Great wills it,
my Father, who fashioned me, speaks it to me."

G.R. III. 89, p. 91:

"He comes with Light's illumination,
with the command that his Father gave."

G.R. III. 108, p. 112:

"I . . . instructed him (Adam) in that
which Life had charged me."

The motive is transferred to the individual soul in the just-quoted Turfan-Fragment T. II. D. 178a[2]; to the apostle Thomas in the farewell-prayer of Act. Thom. c. 144-147, *e.g.* c. 145 (p. 252, 8f.): "Lo, therefore, did I fulfil the work and accomplish the ordinance" or (p. 252, 20f. in the other recension): "I have fulfilled therefore, Lord, thy commandments and accomplished thy will"; c. 146 (p. 255, 1ff.): "Let my eyes gaze steadfastly on thee, and let my heart rejoice that I fulfilled thy will, and accomplished thy ordinance," or (p. 255, 10ff.): ". . . since I did thy will and accomplished thy commandments."

11. *In Revelation-discourses he speaks of his own Person* ('*I am*').

Jn. 6_{35}: "I am the bread of life; he that cometh to me shall not hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst."

6_{51}: "I am the living bread which came down out of heaven, . . . that a man may eat thereof and not die."

8_{12}: "I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life."

10_{9}: "I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall go in and go out, and shall find pasture."

10_{11}: "I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd layeth down his life for the sheep" (cp. v. 15).

11_{25}: "I am the resurrection and the life: he that

believeth on me, though he die, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die."

146: "I am the way, and the truth, and the life: no one cometh unto the Father but through me."

151: "I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman."

155: "I am the vine, ye are the branches: he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same beareth much fruit: for apart from me ye can do nothing."

Cp. 413f.: "Every one that drinketh of this water shall thirst again: but whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst."

717f.: "If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink. He that believeth on me . . . out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water."

The style of revelation-discourse is typical in the Mandæan texts.[1]

Many examples are given by Lidzbarski in the John-book (pp. 43f.); the liturgical texts in the second book of the Left-hand Genzā (pp. 38-74) all begin with the formula: "I am a Mānā of Great Life, I am a Mānā of Mighty Life, a Mānā of Great Life am I."[2] In what follows I give some examples from distinctive revelation-discourses, which at the same time show that the Johannine figures of the Shepherd, Vine and the rest belong to a consistent complex of tradition.

John-book c. 11 (pp. 44-51): "A shepherd am I who loves his sheep; sheep and lambs I watch over. Round my neck [I carry]

[1] The fact that self-predications with the formula 'I am' are found extensively in the Oriental literature and writings influenced by it, is well known; cp. Deismann, Licht von Osten,[4] pp. 108-114; Norden, Agnostos Theos, pp. 186-192. Such texts, however, cannot be indiscriminately compared with the Johannine discourses, but only revelation-discourses proper these are characterized by: (1) the introductory formula 'I am,' (2) the direct ('come') or indirect appeal to the hearers, (3) the promise and/or menace for the hearers.

[2] Reitzenstein, Iran. Erlösungsmyst., p. 46.

the sheep; and the sheep from the hamlet stray not. . . . I carry them and water them with the cup of my hand, until they have drunken their fill. I bring them unto the good fold; and they feed by my side. . . . No wolf leaps into our fold; and of no fierce lion need they be alarmed. Of the tempest they need not be frightened; and no thief can break in upon us. A thief breaks not into our fold. . . . I call to them: 'My little sheep, little sheep, come! Rise up at my call! . . . Come, come unto me!' I am a shepherd whose boat is soon coming. . . . Every one who gives ear to my call and heed gives to my voice, and turns to me his gaze, of him take I hold with both hands and bring him unto me inboard my boat. . . . Whoever gave no ear to my call, sank under."[1]

John-book c. 36 (pp. 144-154): "A fisher am I, a fisher who is elect among fishers. . . . I am a fisher of souls, who bear witness to life. I am a poor (?) fisher who calls to the souls, collects them together and gives them instruction. He calls to them and bids them come and gather together unto him. To them he says: 'If ye . . . come, ye shall be saved from the foul-smelling birds. I will save my friends, bring them on high and in my ship raise them up. I will clothe them with vestures of glory and with precious light enfold them."

John-book c. 40 (pp. 165f.): "I am Hibil-Zīwā, I am an iron shoe, . . . that has trod down the darkness"; c. 57-59 (pp. 202-206): "I am the treasure, Life's treasure . . ."

G.R. III 8. 64-66, pp. 57-61:

"I am Light's Messenger,
everyone who smells his sweet savour, gets life.
Everyone who takes into him his discourse,
his eyes are filled with light.
With light are his eyes filled,
his mouth is filled with laud.
With laud is his mouth filled,
his heart is filled with wisdom.[2] . . .

[1] The figure of the shepherd occurs abundantly in this literature [Many references follow.]

[2] Cp. Mand. Lit., p. 38; "Thou didst pour into us and filledst us with thy wisdom, thy insight and thy goodness."

"A vine are we (am I?), Life's vine,
a tree on which is no lie. . . .
Everyone who is converted,
his soul shall never be cut off. . . .
But the wicked, they, the liars, . . .
the wicked sink after their own will
into the great End-sea."[1]

In keeping with this the Messenger is praised:

Mand. Lit., pp. 67f.: "Thou art the Father, who is all uthras [? treasures], the pillar, who is all light, the vine, who is all life, the great tree, who is all gnosis. . . . Thou art the physician, who stands over the physicians,[2] the upraiser, who stands over the upraisers, the glory, who stands over the creatures of glory, the light, who stands over the lights. . . . Thou art the vine, thou who wast in the ether over the heaven and over the earth."

12. *He knows his own, and they know him.*

Jn. 10_4: "And the sheep follow him: for they know his voice."

10_{14}: ". . . I know mine own, and mine own know me."

10_{27}: "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them."

John-book c. 63 (p. 218): "The Mānā sets forth and comes to them who know and understand him. When the knowers knew the Mānā, they sprang up and clothed themselves in white; they sprang up and clothed themselves in white and crowned themselves with shining wreaths. [With shining wreaths] they crowned their heads, and go to meet the Mānā. . . ."

[1] The figure of the vine and also the notion of 'being cut off' (cp. Jn. $15_{1\text{-}6}$) is frequent. Cp. John-book c. 57 (pp. 204f.): "The vine that bears fruit ascends above; the one that bears no fruit will be cut off. He who lets himself be illumined through me and instructed, ascends and beholds the Light-region; he who lets himself not be illumined through me and instructed, is cut off and falls into the great End-sea." Mand. Lit., p. 252f. (The Messenger is addressed):

"Go, accomplish thy works,
and thy pure sprouts shall thrive excellently.
Excellently shall thy pure shoots thrive,
they shall be united with thee and not cut off."

G.R. II. 1. 43f., p. 41f.: The evil vine will be rooted out. Frequent in the Mand. Lit., see the index in Lidzbarski; twice in Act. Thom.

[2] The figure of the physician is frequent in the Mandæan texts and in the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles.

Mand. Lit., p. 205: "The coming of Hibil-Uthra [Abel the Treasure]
is like that of Šitil [Seth] who goes to the house of his friends.
When the disciples heard the voice
of Anōš [Enoch], the great Uthra,
they worshipped and praised Great Life beyond measure."

Mand. Lit., p. 207: " . . . he spake with his gentle voice,
and the chosen go to meet him."

Od. Sal. 7, 12: "He gave himself for this,
to reveal himself to his own,
that they may know him who hath made them,
and not imagine they are of themselves."

Od. Sal. 41, 2; "With him are his sons known,
therefore will we sing in his love."

Od. Sal. 42, 8: "As the arm of the bridegroom on the bride,
so lies my yoke on them that know me."

In like fashion in the under-world the souls of the prisoners know the Saviour who approaches them. (J. Kroll, Beitr. z. Descensus ad inf., pp. 86f.).

18. *He gathers them together or chooses them. They are or become his own.*

Jn. 11^{52}: " . . . that he might also gather together into one the children of God that are scattered abroad."

15^{16}: "Ye did not choose me, but I chose you."

15^{19}: " . . . but I chose you out of the world " [3 other refs.].

John-book c. 154 (p. 154, 8): "He called them and bade them come and gather together by his side."

Mand. Lit., p. 75: "Thou hast chosen us and drawn us out of the world of hate, of envy and of dissension. . . . "

Mand. Lit., p. 135: "Ye callers, whom I have called, . . . ye builders, whom I have builded and drawn out of the midst of the peoples, borders and tongues. . . ."

G.R. V. 2. 175, p. 179, 24ff.: Mandā d'Haiyē [Gnosis of Life]

speaks: "I have come to sojourn with you and establish you in the light of Life. I have separated you from the peoples and generations . . . " (The Mandæans are thus called 'Separated,' G.R. *passim*).

G.R. XV. 1.299f., p. 296f.: Anōš, 'the Word,' receives the charge: "Choose and draw chosen out of the world," and is instructed how he has to teach those whom he "has chosen out of the world."

Add Mand. Lit., p. 139 and p. 128 (the division of the Light from the Darkness, analogous to Jn. 3$^{19-21}$). For the meaning of the thought in Manichæism "that the Saviour at the destruction of the evil powers gathers together his nature into a region" cp. Bousset ZNW 18 (1917/18), pp. 13f.; so in Act. Thom. c. 48, p. 164, 14, Jesus is characterized as "gathering together all his nature into one region." Besides the passages mentioned by Bousset[1] cp. Act. Thom. [several other refs. and] c. 141, p. 248, 5ff. ("the saviour of my soul and the restorer [of it] to his own nature"); c. 156, p. 265, 5ff. ("And gathering together all those who fled unto thee, having prepared a way . . . and leading them into thy own fold thou didst mingle them with thy sheep . . . "). Agreeably with this in Act. Thom. c. 32, p. 149, 19f. the Dragon says: "But he did me injury against my will and chose his own out of me." And the redeemed discovers in astonishment (c. 34, p. 151, 16) that the redeemer is 'related' to him ("I found that being of light was my relative"); cp. also c. 39, p. 156, 17f. "the relative of the great race which condemned the enemy and redeemed its own"); c. 144, p. 251, 17 ("Thou art he who revealed that I am thine"). Conversely we read c. 44, p. 161, of the devil being "he who fights on behalf of the strangers." Cp. also Hippol. Ref. VI. 19, p. 147, 16f. Wendl.: "They say again that the world will perish on the redemption of their own men" (or Iren. I. 23, 3).

Od. Sal. 10, 5f.: "The scattered peoples were gathered
together. . . .
They entered into my life and were saved
and became my people for evermore."

[1] B. previously refers to the notion of 'gathering together himself' which was treated of by Reitzenstein, Hist. Mon. u. Hist. Laus., p. 9?.

Od. Sal. 17, 14: "They received my blessing and became quick,
they flocked together to me and were saved.
For they were my limbs and I their head."

Od. Sal. 31, 4: ". . . he brought in the sons
who had become [sons] through him."

Od. Sal. 42, 15-20: "They who had died hastened to me
cried out and said:
Have mercy on us, Son of God! . . .
And I hearkened to their voice,
their faith I took to my heart.
And I laid my name on their heads,
for they are free men and mine own."

R. BULTMANN.

(To be continued.)

RELIGIOUS DANCES.

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The subject of Religious Dances is a vast one; it is then only to one aspect of it that we confine our attention in this study,—namely, to the dance as an expression of devotion to a dead ancestor or more immediate predecessor, who, having been, perhaps, the chief of a tribe or clan or at the least in some sort a leader of men, is on the way to become a hero and, as such, assumes in most instances and among primitive peoples the character of a god.

This at once cuts out all such examples of the dance as an expression of religious emotion as presented by the Dancing Dervishes among the followers of the Mohammedan religion, although in many instances these may actually be held in commemoration and in honour of a dead saint—such as those, for example, performed among the Yezīdīs, who now form the inhabitants of what was once Assyria and live among the ruins of Nineveh in the neighbourhood of Mosul, of which a graphic account is given in Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*.

For the earliest known examples of the dance, in all probability too as an element in the ritual of the dead, we ascend to the fountain-head of our race in mid-Palæolithic times, under the guidance of the

discoveries of recent years—discoveries most wonderful and most unexpected. Sir Arthur Evans gave some account of these in his Presidential Address before the British Association at Newcastle in 1916, and what follows is taken from that address.

After describing his own discoveries in pre-historic Crete and others elsewhere, Sir Arthur continues :

> A new and far more remote vista has opened out in recent years, and it is not too much to say that a wholly new standpoint has been gained from which to survey the early history of the human race. The investigations of a brilliant band of prehistoric archæologists, with the aid of representatives of the sister sciences of Geology and Palæontology, have brought together such a mass of striking materials as to place the evolution of human art and appliances in the last Quaternary Period on a far higher level than had been suspected previously.

After mentioning some of those to whom we are more particularly indebted for these discoveries, such as Lartet, Cartailhac, Boule, the Abbé Breuil and others, he continues : " To the engraved and sculptured works of Man in the ' Reindeer Period ' we have now to add . . . whole galleries of painted designs on the walls of caverns and rock-shelters." I have referred to these marvellous specimens of prehistoric art more fully in an article published in *The Hibbert Journal* (January, 1918). What I want to come to here is the fact that one by one, as Sir Arthur says, characteristics, both spiritual and material, that had been formerly thought to be the special marks of later ages have been shown to go back to that earlier world.

> I myself (he says) can never forget the impression produced on me as a privileged spectator of a freshly uncovered interment in one of the Balzi Rossi Caves—an impression subsequently confirmed by other experiences of similar discoveries in these

caves,[1]—which together first supplied the concordant testimony of an elaborate cult of the dead on the part of Aurignacian Man. Tall skeletons of the highly developed Cro-Magnon type lay beside or above their hearths and protected by great stones from roving beasts. Flint knives and bone javelins had been placed within reach of their hands, chaplets and necklaces of sea-shells, fish-vertebræ and studs of carved bone had decked their persons. With these had been placed lumps of iron peroxide, the red stains of which appeared on skulls and bones, so that they might make a fitting show in the Under-world.

"Colours, too, to paint his body,
Place within his hand,
That he glisten, bright and ruddy,
In the Spirit-Land!"

And now comes the point that more especially concerns us here:

Nor is it only in this cult of the departed that we trace the dawn of religious practices in that Older World. At Cogul[2] we may now survey the ritual dance of nine skirted women round a male satyr-like figure of short stature, while at Alpera a gowned sister ministrant holds up what has all the appearance of being a small idol.

For the first time the art of Man is here rich in human subjects. At Cogul the sacral dance is performed by women clad from the waist downwards in well-cut gowns, while on a rock shelter of Alpera, where we meet with the same skirted ladies, their dress is supplemented by flying sashes. On the rock painting of the Cueva de la Vieja, near the same place, women are seen with still longer gowns rising to their bosoms. We are already a long way from Eve!

We may note the same curiously 'modern' style of dress in the women depicted on the wall-paintings engaged in the sacred dance of the Minotaur in the

[1] That is, in the caves of Altamira, where the finest examples of prehistoric art in the shape of magn.ficent representations of the Bison and other animals are found, and in those of Marsoulas in the Haute Garonne, and of Font de Gaume in the Dordogne.

[2] Altamira, Alpera, Cogul and the Cueva de la Vieja are all in Spain.

Palace of Knossos in Crete, as also in the statuettes and figurines from the same locality, many of which may be seen to-day in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

The Dance is indeed the most primitive and the most universal expression of human emotion; we find it associated alike with joy and sorrow. Of the former there is more than one well-known example in the Old Testament. It is only necessary to allude to the grand Song, contained in the 15th chapter of the *Book of Exodus*, which was sung by Miriam and the maidens of Israel after the passage of the Red Sea to the accompaniment of 'tabrets and dances.' Other examples are the songs and dances with which the maidens met David after the slaughter of the Philistines, when the jealousy of Saul was aroused by the refrain: "Saul hath slain his thousands but David his ten thousands"; and again we remember how David himself took part in a religious dance of joy when the Ark of God was brought up from Kirjath Jearim, and how he incurred thereby the contemptuous scorn of Michal, the daughter of Saul, his wife; and yet again, as an illustration of the universality of the dance as an expression of joy, we remember how on another occasion David fell upon the Amalekites and routed them when "they were spread abroad upon all the earth, eating and drinking and dancing, because of all the spoil they had taken out of the land of the Philistines and out of the land of Judah."

Many examples might be given, did space permit, of the dance as an expression of joy among primitive peoples; we will refer only to the rude dances that are held by the native Australians on the occasion of the Intichiuma, or Initiation-ceremonies, which take place

when youths pass the boundary line which separates boyhood from manhood. Dances of a similar kind are found in Africa and Asia, and indeed the world over, among primitive peoples, and survive among the civilized races in the form of folk-dances, such as the May-day dances and those held on other festivals among ourselves.

Full descriptions of all these will be found in Sir J. G. Frazer's encyclopædic work *The Golden Bough*, and need not further detain us here. They have for the most part nearly died out in this sophisticated age, but the ghosts of them remain to give us world-weary mortals some idea of the free and joyous life of the past.

As an element in our modern life the dance exists as an expression of the emotion of pleasure to which young people look forward as a happy opportunity for meeting one another; and, although the proverb tells us that "marriages are made in Heaven," it is probable that the potent influence of the ball-room is responsible for a vast number of unions for good or ill.

But it is with the dance as the expression of the emotion of sorrow and remembrance that we are more particularly concerned in this study. This aspect predominates, and is specially connected with funeral rites and ceremonies and those that are held in memory of the departed. And this brings us right up against the question of the origin of religion and of religious ceremonies.

It has been said that "Animism is the seed of religion"; and this is true, as all students of the late Professor Tylor will admit, in the sense in which he uses the word 'Animism,' or the doctrine of souls. Primitive man, conscious that he himself possesses

a soul or souls,[1]—a conviction attained either through the phenomena of dreams or by a sort of subconscious process of intuition,—ascribes a similar possession to all the objects of Nature in the midst of which he finds himself placed. It is easy to understand this in the case of living things, like animals and birds, or even in the case of things which have life, though of a different kind, such as trees and plants, or motion, like streams and the like; it is more difficult to understand in the case of inanimate objects, such as rocks and stones and so forth. But even the latter were also supposed to be alive, and therefore to be possessed of souls. In fact, man, conscious of his own life, endowed the world in which he found himself and everything in it with life and with the unseen but potent source of life—the soul. Thus, the sun and moon and stars in the heavens, the earth and all things on it were to him living beings; the sound of the waves breaking on the shore, the murmur of the stream, the rustling of the wind in the trees, were to him the voices of beings like himself, with which he could enter into relationship, and which, ere religion taught him to pray, he could control by magic arts, sympathetic or otherwise.

But more. Death was unnatural. When man or beast or bird or other living thing seemed to die, the change was wrought, as the Australian natives believe, by evil magic, and the seeming corpse or carcase still survived in the shape of the soul, which continued to haunt the place of interment. To use the Egyptian phraseology, though the Ba might fly away to some

[1] For the ancient Egyptians were not the only race who endowed the human being with more than one soul,—such as the Ka, or soul that had its habitation in the tomb, and the Ba, or bird-soul, that winged its way to the unseen world,—many African races add to these the shadow-soul and the soul that leaves the body in dreams and returns when the sleeper wakes.

unknown region in Amenti, the West, to the land of the unseen, the Ka had its abode where the body was buried. If this was the case with animals or ordinary mortals, how much more was it so in the case of the barrow or tumulus where some great chief or mighty hero was interred! Hence arose the worship of the dead.

As perhaps it is unnecessary to say, we are here brought up against the question of the origin of the gods and goddesses of antiquity. Professor Ridgeway, of Cambridge, recently published two books, one on *The Origin of Greek Tragedy* and the other on *The Drama and Religious Dances of non-European Races*, in which he finds the drama to be a development of the dances and religious festivals held at the tombs of Heroes, who in the past were real human beings who had left their mark on their generation, and in process of time became gods.

Before passing on to notice this theory, which to my mind has much to recommend it, we must observe that it is opposed to two other theories: one of these had great vogue in the latter part of the last century through the influence of the great name of Max Müller in England; and the other finds its expression in the works of Dietrich and others in Germany, and of Professor Murray, Miss Harrison and others in England, under the guidance of Sir J. G. Frazer and *The Golden Bough*. The origin of the drama we leave on one side: we enquire only whether there is evidence to show that the fact of religious dances bespeaks the reality of the existence as a human being of the hero or god in whose honour they were held.

The first of the two theories just alluded to is known as the 'Solar Myth' theory. This theory

supposes that Zeus, or Jupiter, and the rest of the Greek and Roman pantheon (these gods being themselves derived from the primitive Aryan mythology of the Vedas, etc.) are mere expressions of the phenomena of Nature—the Dawn, the Thunder-cloud, the Lightning-flash, and so on. This conception, which undoubtedly has some elements of truth in it, was pushed to extremes and received its *reductio ad absurdum* when Sir Alfred Lyall, the great authority on Indian religions, proved, by employing its methods, that Professor Max Müller himself was nothing but a 'Solar Myth'!

The second, with which the name of Sir J. G. Frazer is beyond any other associated, is that known as the 'Vegetation' theory. On this ground all such stories as those of Adonis, Attis or Osiris, or Demeter seeking her lost daughter in the Underworld, or Dionysos and his troop of Satyrs, are nothing else than methods of expressing the labours of the revolving year, and the endeavours of mankind to promote the growth of the corn and vine and other vegetable products so necessary to their existence. Here again the *data* lend themselves to the conclusion that there is an element of truth in the deductions made: but it is only a partial truth and by no means the whole. No one will deny, and myself least of all, for I have learnt too much from him, the immensity of the labours and the usefulness as a mine of information of the great work of Sir J. G. Frazer; but he and his followers, Miss Harrison and the rest, have allowed themselves to be obsessed by their theory, and in the end one may say "they can hardly see the wood for the trees."

Professor Ridgeway, on the other hand, works on

the principle that in the history of human thought "the concrete precedes the abstract"; that a wife mourned her dead husband, a mother her son, before they would lament the imaginary sorrows of a 'Vegetable'—'Corn' or 'Maize' or 'Vine'—spirit; that, for example, as he puts it, a concrete 'Captain Boycott' must always precede the abstract verb 'to boycott.'

In this connection we may refer to the ceremonies associated with the dead among primitive peoples, of which a very full account is given in Sir J. G. Frazer's Gifford Lectures on *The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead* (3 vols.). In almost all, if not all, of these we find that dances of one kind or another make up the chief part of the ceremonial. An illustration shall be taken from the Torres Straits, where the funeral ceremonies were numerous and elaborate and present some features of special interest. The obsequies differed somewhat from each other in the east and west, but they had two characteristics in common: first, the skulls of the dead were commonly preserved apart from the bodies and were consulted as oracles; and, second, the ghosts of the recently deceased were represented in dramatic ceremonies by masked men, who mimicked the gait and gestures of the departed, and were thought by the women and children to be the very ghosts themselves. The great funeral ceremony, or rather death-dance, of the Western Islanders, took place in the island of Pulu. When the time came for it, a few men would meet and make the necessary preparations. The ceremony was always performed on the sacred or ceremonial ground (*kwod*); and the first thing to do was to enclose this ground, for the sake of privacy, with a screen of mats hung on a framework of wood

and bamboos. When the screen had been erected, the drums which were to be used by the orchestra were placed in position beside it. Then the relatives were summoned to attend the performance. The ceremony might be performed for a number of deceased people at once; and it varied in importance and elaboration according to the number and importance of the deceased whose obsequies were being celebrated. The head-dresses or leafy masks worn by the actors in the sacred drama were made secretly in the bush; no woman or uninitiated man might witness the operation. When all was ready, and the people were assembled, the men stationed in front and the women and children in the background, the disguised actors appeared on the scene and played the part of the dead, each one of them mimicking the gait and actions of the particular man or woman whom he personated; for all the parts were played by men, no woman might act in these ceremonies. The order in which the various ghosts were to appear on the scene was arranged beforehand; so that when the actors came forward from behind the screen, the spectators knew which of the dead they were supposed to have before them. The performers usually danced in pairs, and vanished behind the screen when their dance was finished. Thus one pair would follow another till the play was over. Besides the actors who played the serious and solemn part of the dead, there was usually a clown who skipped about and cut capers, tumbling down and getting up again, to make the spectators laugh and so to relieve the strain on their emotions, which were deeply stirred by this dance of death. The beat of the drums proclaimed that the sacred drama was at an end. Then followed a great feast.

A similar drama of death and resurrection, with the accompaniment of songs and dances, took place in Fiji, with the addition of a sacramental meal of food and water at the close of the performance.

I refer to these in order to connect the ideas of the most primitive of peoples with those in a considerably higher stage of culture. For a full account of the Fijian culture and beliefs I must refer to Sir J. G. Frazer's *Belief in Immortality* (I. 406ff.). As their funeral ceremonies do not appear to have been accompanied with dances it is beyond our present scope to enlarge on them.

If we take the ceremonies belonging to the Eleusinian mysteries, to the Dionysiac drama, to the mourning for Adonis or Osiris, we find the same thing everywhere,—namely that, when we go to the root of the matter, there is always the pre-existing dead ancestor, chief or hero, who may often develop into a god, in the background.

Omitting the cases of Osiris and of Krishna, on which Professor Ridgeway has much to say, I would draw attention to his account of the ceremonies connected with the annual festival held in Persia and in many parts of India to commemorate the deaths of Hassan and Hussein, the sons of Ali, the cousin of the prophet Mohammad, to illustrate this point. So potent are the arguments that even Sir J. G. Frazer himself is constrained to confess, in the case of Osiris, that "under the mythical pall of the glorified Osiris, the god who died and rose again from the dead, there once lay the body of a dead man."

As everyone is aware, the Mohammadan world is divided into two main sects which hate each other bitterly: the *Sunnis*, or orthodox, and the *Shiah*, who

derived their name from *shiah*, a faction or party, *i.e.* the faction or party of Ali and Fatima, and their sons Hassan and Hussein, who form the theme of the famous Passion-Play which is practically co-extensive with the Shiah form of Islam from India to North Africa. Ali was the first cousin of Mohammad, and Fatima, his wife, was the daughter of the Prophet by Kadijah, his favourite wife. After the Prophet's death the succession to the Caliphate was disputed, but at length Hassan, the elder son of Ali, obtained it; he, however, was poisoned in the year 668, having held it for about eight years. Hussein, his brother, took up arms against Yezid, who had been chosen to succeed, but was finally defeated and slain, after untold sufferings, at the battle of Kerbela, in 680,—the third and crowning tragedy in the house of the Prophet.

It is this tragedy that is commemorated yearly in the month of Muharram by the Shiah sect, above all in Persia and India. The Passion-Play consists of a sequence of scenes illustrative of the history, and is accompanied by models of the tombs of Hassan and Hussein, called *taziyah*, and by a procession of mournful dancers.

A full account will be found in Professor Ridgeway's *Dramatic Dances*, and his conclusion is:

Who will deny that Mohammad, Ali, Fatima, Hassan and Hussein are as historical as Thomas à Becket, Charlemagne, Julius Cæsar, or Jesus of Nazareth? But it may be said that the martyr of Kerbela is enshrouded in the haze of mysticism. Yet does not the same hold true of Jesus of Nazareth, whose historical reality no sceptic can deny?[1] Just as in the modern Passion-Play of Ober-Ammergau it is the essential reality and

[1] In saying this the Professor has forgotten for the moment the criticisms of Drews and his school, who do deny the historical reality of Jesus; but I suppose he thought their criticisms negligible.

humanity of Christ that draws out the devotion of the faithful, so is it with the martyr of Kerbela and his worshippers. Hussein is no Vegetation spirit or Daimon of the Year, but a mortal man who lived, suffered, and died in A.D. 680.

As the final act in the Passion-Play, the principal actors kneel together on the stage. Then the selected preacher for the day comes forward to make his final appeal to the people. His theme is the Passion of Hussein. Every detail of the suffering is lingered over, every incident causes a fresh outburst of weeping. Instead of the cross it is the desert waste and the parching thirst. Instead of the disciples mourning it is the children and the holy women. Instead of the Mater Dolorosa of Christendom it is the Mater Dolorosa of Islam. Mary and Fatima suffer the same pangs over their dying sons. Hussein is the gate of Paradise; Hussein sustains the world.

If it be urged that the Muharram celebration is a Vegetation ceremony held in Spring to revive vegetation, or at midwinter or midsummer to resuscitate or prolong the energies of the Sun-god, it is sufficient to point out that, as the Muhammadan calendar is lunar, the month Muharram is in no wise attached to any particular season of the year, as it most assuredly would have been if its origin had been bound up with any such Vegetation festivals.

A most interesting survival of the same strain of thought is to be found in the continued existence of the 'Seizes,' or dances by the choir-boys in the Cathedral at Seville held in honour of Christ and the Madonna; there would be no meaning in the ceremony unless Jesus had really lived, and incidentally it is a collateral proof of the truth of his life and death, and of the belief in his resurrection.

At a wealthy Roman's funeral, immediately after the *præficæ*, or hired 'keeners,' in some cases followed dancers and mimes who jested freely, while mourners wearing masks representing the ancestors of the deceased took part in the procession. Thus the ancestors of the dead man, accompanied with songs and dances, escorted him to the family tomb. But it was not only at the actual obsequies that chariot-races, dances and other more or less dramatic performances took place. In life the dead may have loved the dance and been honoured with dances, as David was by the Hebrew women on his return from the overthrow of the Philistines; and, as we ascribe to our gods our own feelings, dances are held in honour of them. Thus David himself danced before the Lord when he brought back the Ark, as mentioned above. Let not the critic say that such practices are not Aryan, for, as Mrs. Villiers Wardell writes:

> Of the many religious ceremonies to be witnessed in the Cathedral at Seville none is so supremely interesting as the dances before the High Altar of the boys known as the Seizes. These dances take place every year on the three days of the Carnival, at the Feast of Corpus Christi, and on the Feast of the Conception of the Virgin in December. The dances take place at the foot of the High Altar and are accompanied by a stringed orchestra and by the organ. The boys—ten in number—wear pages' costume of the time of Philip III.

An eye-witness, describing the dances, writes:

> I went to the cathedral expecting to be shocked, and got quite close to the chancel rails. To my great astonishment I saw boys dance a beautiful minuet, and somehow or other, hypnotized by the motion and the music, I lost count of time and everything else. It was a wonderful experience. There was not a trace of frivolity in the performance, and the whole *mise en scène* was most impressive.

One story is worth repeating. When the Pope some centuries ago wished to suppress all religious dances in churches, he was asked to permit the Seizes (there were originally six dancers) to continue. He issued a bull saying they should continue until their clothes were worn out. The canons still always put a patch of the old garment on the new, and in this way obey the order of his Holiness.

Just as the dance of the Seizes in the Cathedral at Seville is held in honour of one who is believed really to have lived and died, and risen again from the dead, and may be taken as an evidence of the fact, so the celebrations in honour of Osiris, of Hassan and Hussein, of Dionysus, of Krishna and many another may be taken as evidence that each and all were really living men before they became heroes and gods, though of these Osiris is the only one who was actually believed, in ancient Egypt, to have risen again.

As Professor Ridgeway well puts it :

> Miss Harrison and her partners argue that behind Dionysus [for example] there was never any human reality, but that the god was only the result of the group-thinking of his *thiasos* of Satyr daimons and Maenads. Yet as well might they argue that neither Dominic, nor Francis of Assisi, nor Muhammad, nor Christ himself ever existed, but that they are the mere 'projections' of the group-thinking of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Muhammadans and Christians respectively. Nay, they might as well argue that the German Kaiser has no material existence, but is a mere 'projection' of the 'group-thinking' of his *thiasos* of Prussian Guards.

We may here refer more fully to the Midsummer Fires, and other Festivals in which the dance bears a leading part, in most parts of Europe and, not least, up to a quite recent date in the British Isles.

A good general account of the Midsummer customs,

together with some of the reasons popularly alleged for observing them, is given by Thomas Kirchmayer, a writer of the sixteenth century, in his poem *The Popish Kingdom*:

Then doth the joyful feast of John the Baptist take his turne,
When bonfiers great with loftie flame, in every towne doe burne;
And yong men round about with maides, doe daunce in every streete,
With garlandes wrought of Motherwort, or else with Vervain sweete,
And many other flowrës faire, with Violets in their handes,
Whereas they all doe fondly thinke, that whosoever standes,
And thorow the flowrës beholds the flame, his eyes shall feele no paine.
When thus till night they daunced have, they through the fire amaine
With striving mindes doe runne, and all their hearbes they cast therein,
And then with wordes devout and prayers, they solemnly begin,
Desiring God that all their illes may there consumed bee,
Whereby they think through all that yeare from Agues to be free.
Some others get a rotten wheele, all worne and cast aside,
Which covered round about with strawe, and tow, they closely hide;
And caryed to some mountain top, being all with fire light,
They hurle it downe with violence, when darke appears the night:
Resembling much the Sunne, that from the heavens downe should fal,
A strange and wondrous sight it seems, and fearfull to them all:
But they suppose their mischiefes all are likewise throwne to hell,
And that from harmes and dangers now, in safetie here they dwell.[1]

In Denmark and Norway Midsummer fires were kindled on St. John's Eve on roads, open spaces and hills. People in Norway thought that the fires banished sickness from among the cattle.

In Sweden the Eve of St. John is the most joyous

[1] Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Pt. VII., i. 162, 3.

night in the whole year. The people dance round the fires and leap over or through them. In parts of Norrland on St. John's Eve the bonfires are lit at the cross-roads. The fuel consists of nine different sorts of wood, and the spectators cast into the flames a kind of toad-stool, in order to counteract the power of the trolls and other evil spirits, who are believed to be abroad that night; for at that mystic season the mountains open and from their cavernous depths the uncanny crew pours forth to dance and disport themselves for a time.

In Southern France on St. John's Eve young people set up on the banks of the Garonne a tree covered with ribbons and garlands; at the end of a year the withered tree and faded flowers furnish excellent fuel. So the villagers assemble, and on the Eve of St. John an old man or a child kindles the fire which is to consume tree and garlands together. While the blaze lasts, the people sing and dance; and the burnt tree is replaced by another, to suffer the same fate after the lapse of a year. In some districts of the French Pyrenees it is deemed necessary to leap nine times over the Midsummer fire if you would be assured of prosperity.

I transcribe the following from an account which I wrote after witnessing the scene in the neighbourhood of Bayonne in the year 1874. I have no doubt the custom continues to the present time:

> This being St. John's Eve, our 'fermier' had a fire lighted outside in the road in front of our gate, as did all the inhabitants of the village, not making one large bonfire, it being essential that each house should have its own fire. In the centre of the village there was a large bonfire round which the young men and women danced joining hands, and then leaped over it themselves, and

made the cattle, sheep and pigs go through the same performance. This was supposed to keep off all diseases and misfortunes for the coming year.

And so we arrive at our conclusion: The stories of Osiris and Isis, of Krishna, the Passion-Play of Hassan and Hussein, the dramatic dances and mimetic representations which are common in Java, in Burmah, in China and Japan, and the May Day, St. John's Eve and other dances in Europe all bear the same testimony; and even among the savages of Australia the Corroborees, or dances that accompany the initiation ceremonies, are held in honour of the Alcheringa, or mythical ancestors of the tribe.

There is one further conclusion we would draw. From a study of primitive thought we may gather that these ceremonies, whether dances or mimetic representations or both combined, held at tombs or in connection with funeral ceremonies or festivals of the departed, are not confined merely to the desire to honour the dead, but also include the wish to make use of the Mana[1] of the departed for the promotion of the fruitful-

[1] In case the word Mana may be unfamiliar to some of my readers it is perhaps advisable to explain it:

The term is Polynesian, and corresponds with the word *orenda* among the North American Indians; but the idea is universal. It is used to express a certain invisible but potent influence which emanates, or is supposed to emanate, from certain persons or things, and which accordingly exercises a power for good or evil over those who come in contact with it. It is defined by Mr. Codrington, the great authority on Polynesian customs, as "a force altogether distinct from physical power, which acts in all kinds of ways for good and evil, and which it is of the greatest advantage to possess or to control." Or again: "It is a power or influence, not physical, and in a way supernatural, but it shows itself in physical force or in any kind of power or excellence a man possesses." Thus, if a man has been successful in fighting, it has not been his natural strength of arm, quickness of eye, or readiness in resource that has won success; he has certainly got the mana of a spirit of some deceased warrior to empower him, conveyed in an amulet of stone round his neck or a tuft of leaves in his belt; if a man's pigs multiply, it is not because he is industrious, but because of the stones full of mana for pigs and yams that he has.

Dr. Marett, discussing this, would make Mana a primary condition of the most primitive religion of mankind; but, says Professor Ridgeway, commenting on this, "taking his own illustrations, it is clear that in the

ness of crops and cattle, for the increase of his own prowess in war, for the warding off or the curing of sickness, or for any other purpose which may be for the benefit of the worshipper in his own person or in his possessions. Man is an eminently practical being; he does nothing without a motive. Especially is this true in the lower stages of culture; and if he can bend his magic and his religion to promote his own practical ends, so much the better for him.

H. J. D. ASTLEY.

first case cited we have only an ordinary instance of relics and that mana depends on a primary belief in the existence of souls after the death of the body, and is therefore secondary and dependent; while in the second case the stones full of mana may be the dwelling-place of spirits of the dead. Animism, therefore, the belief in souls, is the really primary condition of religion.'

CONCERNING RITUAL.

FREDERICK CARTER.

THAT there should have been a continual daily observance of divine worship carried on, perhaps without a break, age after age, from the period of the Old Kingdom in Egypt down through time to the present day, gives a surprising sense of continuity and, beyond that indeed, of human kinship. One rite and one religion follows upon another, and speculation upon the distinctive character of predecessor and of follower is inevitable. At first sight the ritual ceremony as performed each day in the sanctuaries of Egypt manifests profound differences from the rites which to our own day have continued in one Catholic stream for nearly two thousand years. Yet it too was a regular observance in ordered rite performed day after day to the Hidden God whose name, it may be, has persisted even beyond the lapse of all the gods of Egypt—in Amen, the faithful witness of the revelation of St. John.

Professor Flinders Petrie (*Religion of Ancient Egypt*, 1906) summarizes the rite of daily worship in Egypt of the Old Kingdom in the seven parts following: 1, fire-making; 2, breaking the seal, opening the door of the shrine, seeing the god; 3, prostrations and singing hymns to the god; 4, offering oil and honey and incense and a figure of the goddess Maat; 5, cleansing the figure and its shrine and pouring out pitchers of water

and fumigating; 6, clothing the god with white, green and red sashes; 7, purifying with incense of the south and north.

Conforming with the most primitive rites, the first act is to make fire. The spark is brought forth from wood (or stone) in darkness to make flame and light as in the primal creative manifestation of life in the universe.

In his study *Rituel du Culte divin journalier en Egypte*, Alexandre Moret translates in full a document describing the daily ceremony carried out by the king in the temple of Amon Ra at Karnak. He comments that the whole action depended upon a belief in the continual renewal of the creative activity of the god or gods. Worship is repeated ritually for the purpose of renewing life, whether of the god-image in the sanctuary, or the body in the tomb; and again the same general order of the ritual was used whether the body was that of Osiris or of a simple dead man. It is explained that life began, according to this theory or belief, with an activity or power that belonged to the eye as light-giving, and then to the mouth as speaking the definitive word. On the day of creation the world was seen by the gods in the light of their eyes, and thereafter by the word of their mouths it was named. So it came into being, and such was its origin from the light of the divine eye shining in the dark; next the form was given permanence and stability by the word of the divine mouth.

Although the cult-ceremony described is that of Amon Ra at Karnak, the same ritual is found elsewhere carved on the temple-walls and written on papyri; for it is not peculiar to the god Amon nor to his sanctuary.

In it there are described two ceremonial entrances by the king-priest into the naos or shrine. The first entry is, translating Moret's words,—

closed with the offering to the god of the Eye of Horus where the soul hides itself; at the end of the second entry there is brought to the god, as symbol of the offering, the goddess Maat. The Eye of Horus, the creator of offerings, is so well confounded with the goddess Maat that there is perfect correspondence between the conclusions of the two ritual entries into the sanctuary.

At the first opening of the naos the king-priest presents the Eye of Horus to the image of the god; at the second opening the goddess Maat is presented to the god, but she is also the Eye of Horus,—two eyes, like moon and sun in the universe. The god unites himself with each; each becomes a part of him and provides the renewal of life. Indeed, the two eyes, the two uræi serpents and the two plumes of the divine crown are all interchangeable as symbols. And not only is Maat called the Eye of Horus creator of offerings, but it is also said "Maat is a cake of bread or a drink"; she is the offering itself in every aspect.

This goddess in herself is one of the most important religious conceptions. She was, physically and spiritually, the rule and law, and very closely corresponded to the Greek Themis. Order and regularity are her dispensation; sun and moon and times live by Maat, whose place and rank are that of Queen of Heaven and Earth. She presides over the scales at the weighing of the heart of the deceased in the judgment of Osiris and the forty-two assessors. Maat is in myth, generally speaking, the daughter and the eye of the sun-god Ra.

This second opening of the naos in the Egyptian

ritual is associated by Moret with the great voices of heaven, in other words, the thunders. Moret, quoting from *The Pyramid Text of Pepi I.*, writes:

> that, when the heavens speak, the earth trembles, the two divine regions roar, the ceremony of the ploughing is finished (the foundation of the tomb or of the temple). The offering is consecrated upon the two hands of the deceased. Then the deceased manifests himself to the heavens, goes to the field of offerings, seats himself sceptre in hand upon his throne of iron, emits words for himself and all the gods, whilst these come to him with backs bowed and present the offerings.

Both temple and tomb in Egyptian belief were symbolical in their arrangement and order; they represented the universe. The ritual began with its first part for the region of the South, and it continued with a precisely similar order in the second part for the corresponding or complementary region of the North. These regions were identical in arrangement, but differed in their principal symbolical images.

A comparison of these symbols or images shows that the earlier portion, to take a typical instance, relates to the viscera of the god; and it also recounts the placing of the skin of the sacrifice about the god, an important symbol of rebirth. The titles of chapters are commonly the same in both parts; but amongst the objects described in the first almost all are of the lower world, and the god Seb, Earth, is repeatedly mentioned.

The first mentioned 'Eye of Horus' is the light in the darkness of the underworld and within the divine image of the man who is, in himself, becoming the universe and the god; for, as Moret comments, it is here used alternatively with the viscera of Osiris as a variant symbol to describe the parts of the divine

being which fell into the water. In the mystical cosmic man this lower inward part would correspond, in the great world, with the deep beneath the horizon, when the sun is yet below the edge of dawn. The land of the South is contradistinct from that of the North and is the depth; for the approach of the sun towards the zenith is marked by its approach to the northern heaven's centre, the pole. The South is the deep, the hidden and unknown world—the Antipodes. Hence, when the second opening of the naos takes place and the passage of the hidden light across the horizon is described, it has moved North of the edge of the world. The light and the voice are conjoined, and the visible kingdom is revealed; the sun has risen for the day or, in the year, the dawn-point moves towards the North in the warmer season.[1]

A series of significant formulæ is spoken before and after the second opening of the naos; these all indicate this new dawn. In the chapter which comes just before this opening is told how the god is embraced by the king-priest, who brings the god's heart, that is his soul, to put it into its place in his belly. A little later he asks the god to "open the two gates of heaven, to disjoin the two gates of earth," when he gives the god his soul. Finally, before this second opening of the naos, he says: "I enter into heaven to see the solar disk (Aton); I approach the god in his distress."

The first part of the second opening is the *Chapter of Mounting upon the Stair*, which necessarily suggests an ascent. This is followed, after repetition of the

[1] It may be worthy of remark that the Roman Mass is divided into two parts of a similar nature. Adrian Fortescne (*The Mass*, 1914) gives this division as: (1) The Mass of the Catechumens; (2) The Mass of the Faithful. The separation occurs after the reading of the Lessons and Gradual—signifying the old Law—when the Missal is moved from the South side to the North, the Gospel side of the Altar.

earlier ceremonies of uncovering the face, prostration and hymns, by the *Chapter of Adoring Amon at the Dawn*, which is a preliminary to the *Chapter of Presenting Maat*. United to this goddess, the god is now possessed of his 'true voice.' The goddess Maat is the *ma khrōou*, the creative word, that which, among the divine thunders, creates.

In the simplest terms it may be said that the divinity of life has issued from the entangling shadows of the under-world within, or beneath, the earth. Broken and dismembered, according to the ancient Egyptian tradition, he has gathered together his divine body and renewed himself by the aid of his consort. Born amid the thunders of the creative new word of power, he has come from the Mother of Truth, arising from the southern deep to the northern ascent. The two gates of the horizon are opened and revealed in the light, that light which, without the creative word, it would seem, in Egyptian belief, shines in uncomprehending darkness. "Disjoined are the gates of earth and the wall of the temple is opened." Though amid a maze of ceremonial repetition and ritual formulary, nevertheless it is shown by the frequent use of terms obviously relative that the thundering of the true word belongs to the birth of the rising sun. The king-child, ascending, passes through purifications from poured out waters to be arrayed in royal garments, and speaking words of power sits upon his throne of domination.

In mystical psychology (to digress a little) this image of the two eyes and their relation to the creation persisted even through the Middle Ages. In *The Living Flame of Love* (QUEST, Jan., 1922, V. C. McMunn), St. John of the Cross writes:

The light of grace, which God had before given to the soul, by which he had illumined the eye of the abyss of the spirit, opening it to the divine light and making it pleasing to Himself, calls to another deep of grace, namely the divine transformation of the soul in God, wherein the eye of sense is enlightened and rendered so pleasing to God that we may say that the light of God and of the soul is all one, the natural light of the soul being united to the supernatural light of God, and the supernatural light being now the only one shining; just as when the light which God created united itself with the light of the Sun, and the light of the Sun shone alone without the divine light being lost.

In this *Chapter of Presenting Maat*, Amon Ra joins himself to the superior heaven: "He lights the circles"; "he joins himself to the superior heaven, when he arises in the solar disk in the moon," when he opens the horizon. He is called 'divine infant' and 'august adolescent of the eight gods.' Just before this the priest had been encircled by the two uræi, the god's sacred serpents, whilst giving the god his heart. These are figures of peculiar importance in Egyptian symbolism, no less than in the Greek. They are closely related to Maat who, shortly after, is conjoined with the god. She takes on all the attributes of the god's dominion; she is his kingdom, and she is his aid in every respect. She confirms his name, that of 'master of the gods.'

But still more strangely it says: "Maat transforms herself in thy thigh." Now the thigh, as Moret explains, is the customary offering to the god; not only in Egypt is this so, but equally in Judæa and in Greece was a certain sanctity attached to the thigh. It was in every way notable as being symbolical of divine offering and of sacrifice. The goddess in Egyptian symbol is the throne of the god; the name of Isis is thus written with hieroglyph.

In the same chapter the god is alluded to as 'opener of the sacred tree, bull of the cycle of the gods, infant which renews itself periodically.' Singularly enough the child of the serpent-marriage of Zeus and Persephone (and also grandchild of the serpent-pair Cadmus and Harmonia), Dionysus, in his incarnation from the thunder-smitten Semele, was caught up to heaven to the thigh of Zeus. He too is the bull-child; and moreover, as the offspring of the thigh of Zeus he becomes peculiarly the typical sacrifice,—in himself exemplary of the incarnate symbol of the thigh.

Some hint, if no more, of recognition is afforded to this group of symbols in the Apocalypse when the child is caught up to the throne, and when later the conqueror appears and there is 'upon his thigh a new name written.'

At first sight it would seem that the ritual sacrifice amongst the Greeks was based upon a different concept of the relationship between man and god. Yet in a certain part of its symbolism at least it conforms to that of the Egyptians. The victim is skinned and its viscera withdrawn; the thigh is the sacrificial portion set apart peculiarly for the god.

Maisch (*Handbook of Greek Antiquities*, Temple Series) gives a concise description of the ancient Greek rite of sacrifice. He states that the altar was first sprinkled with water sanctified by having a burning faggot from the altar fire dipped into it. The victim's head adorned with garlands was strewed with sacrificial barley. He writes further:

> All present were now summoned to *pious silence* by the command *εὐφημειτε*, and with *music* of flutes and the singing of pæans the god was entreated to graciously accept the sacrifice.

The victim's head was bent backwards—larger animals were previously stunned by a blow on the head—the throat was pierced, and the blood was made to stream upon the altar or into the trench. The hide was then flayed off, and the inner parts, which were soonest ready, were dressed in the fire. The gods in Homeric times received mainly the thigh bones.

It remains to draw together certain of these symbolical rites, following the order in which they have subsisted with a certain consistency, and by additional analogies to derive the real spring of psychological feeling which has caused their persistence. That they have some profound significance to the human soul is certain; and by their very continuity they manifestly represent an understood imagery of the path of the individual soul as revealed in the way of the world.

The primary phase of the making of fire, or of light, the kindling of the spark which must be pure, is the simplest rite and the most primitive. The new fire, undefiled, must be made from a simple substance; by the earliest method it appears to have been got from two pieces of wood by friction. This was the principal if not the whole rite of the early Aryan folk. Émile Bournouf, the Sanskrit scholar, in *The Science of Religions*, described this making of the holy fire, and at the same time propounded a scheme of analogy between the early Vedic ritual and the Roman Mass. He remarks that the order of rites of each day depends upon the central sacrament of the Mass, and that a similar character is to be found in the Paschal rite as the point of approach and departure for the whole year's divine observances.

In particular he comments upon the service of Holy Saturday as affording a close parallel to the early

Aryan rite of the sacred fire. In the Christian ceremony there is this primary difference, that the spark is ignited from the stone; in the primitive, pagan one, as in Egypt also, it is obtained from the wood by the ancient process of the fire-drill. Both earlier and later rite arrange the ceremonial so that the light is made in the darkness of night, and the day-spring follows shortly after.

From the ritual of Holy Saturday Burnouf translates the following passage as admirably describing its fundamental purport:

> O truly happy night, which stripped the Egyptians and enriched the Hebrews! This night in which heavenly things mingle with things of earth, likewise divine things with human. We pray thee, O Lord, that this candle consecrated to the honour of thy name, may continue indefectible in order to destroy the gloom of this night and having been well received it may dwell with the luminaries on high.

In the early days of the Church this Easter ceremony of the fire and candle took place upon the Sunday, at the second nocturn between three and six in the morning, which was the dawn, for on the day of the equinox the sun rises at six o'clock.

The Roman rite of Holy Saturday is described as being the longest of any ceremony that is commonly celebrated. It consists of five parts: 1. The New Fire and the Paschal Candle; 2. The Twelve Prophecies; 3. The Blessing of the Font and Baptism; 4. The Litanies; 5. The First Easter Mass and Vespers.

Beginning outside the Church, from a new fire struck out of flint, a lighted coal is put in the thurible. Next, and inside the Church, the deacon lights one of the three wicks of a triple candle set in a reed. He sings *Lumen Christi*. In the midst of the Church the

second wick is lighted; before the altar the third. Then follows the ceremony of lighting the Paschal Candle, upon which five grains of incense are affixed, in the form of a cross. Next the prophecies are sung, if possible by twelve lectors; then comes the blessing of the font. The new water in it is blessed, and the sign of the cross is made *in* it with the celebrant's right hand; then a triple sign of the cross is made over it. After this a little water is cast to each of the four points of the compass, and the Paschal Candle is plunged into the water thrice, each time increasingly deeper, whilst at the last dip the celebrant breathes thrice upon the water. Then follow the litanies, and the culminating rite of the Mass.

There is a singular unanimity in the acceptance of the new fire-making as a primal rite in the various cults, as well as in the use of fire for sacrifice. In the Vedic rite fire, almost alone, and the life of fire were the central quality in the symbolism. According to the appearance of a certain star the fire-worshippers,—the Magian kings and the Shepherd-people also,—were called, and went to the holy place where the mystical birth of the new fire and the kindling of the spark were performed. It was fed with the ritual accompaniments, butter, flour, and the spirituous, and inflammable, *soma*. Some constituent of a nature suitable to feed the flame's quick growth appears to have been necessary in the sacred ritual, such as oil or alternatively butter; in the case of wine, for example, some fiery characteristic must appear in its nature, as if of a life within the liquid. Such a notion is implied in the plunging of a burning brand from the altar into the water which was required to sanctify it among the Greeks. The same idea of life in the liquid occurs in

the Hebrew blood-sprinkling—in the asperging fluid commonly life, or fire its equivalent, must have entered to give it the appropriate nature.

This phase in the Egyptian scheme of the preliminary symbolism to the ceremony, following the old tradition, was the assembling of the dismembered Osiris. There is a similar meaning in the word *ekklesia* (which means a calling out or gathering together),—presumably the one body of the Saviour, the Church of Christ.

In each case this union or collect precedes the holy and mystical event, always new and ever desired, the *anaphora*—the uplifting—which is the dawn of the ever-glorious sun raised up from the dark land of the people of dreams. Such is the culmination of the most ancient and divine rite of the kindling of the holy fire; consummated amid the darkness which is beneath the world it eventuates in the great light that destroys the night.

Dayspring and the dawn of the new year were both drawn into a formal order of ritual, in which each was valid as a symbol of the life which is in man and in the universe. This is expressed in the ceremonies of the Catholic Church, for the services of day and night are a preparation for, or a consequence of, the Mass; and those of the year again prepare for, or proceed from, Holy Week. The rites of the Church recur daily, centering in the canon of the Mass; annually their centre is Easter. Here is revealed a glimpse of the deep purport of ritual beyond the simple calendar of the year arranged and defined in festival and celebration. In such a fashion truly "man's effective desire to be in right relation to the power manifesting itself in the universe" is most decisively expressed. Time

is revealed in the day equally with the year; and a cult to attain the purposed end in this single aspect of its function must express itself through the day with its change from dark to light, as well as the year with its seasons. The most objective manifestation of the living being of the great world is that continuity of unremitting order and change which we call Time.

In essence the rite was justified and acceptable,—in fact was religious,—only when it endeavoured with some measure of success to express the order and the true way of the greater world. Comparative religion in a general way has come to the conclusion that the formation of myth ensues on ritual, and is made, commonly, in order to explain some rite of which the purport is not generally understood. Possibly, on the other hand, myth and rite may themselves provide in combination, and each in their own mode of feeling, the best and most adequate explanation. Psychology is not a study for all, or, indeed, many. The study of the soul has its profundities where danger lies; yet every soul reveals its hidden history in symbol and image, which are the current coin in the realm whose terms are not those of the outer day, whose speech is the secret language of mystery and dream. Ritual and myth communicate most truly and in the only terms which are accessible to the greater number of people; for it is by way of feeling and by a rhythm of seeing and hearing, by the sense of wonder and the emotion of art, that the hidden things of the psyche are revealed, or directed in their way. Such an underworld is not lightly entered nor escaped, save as Dante explored it by the guidance of his genius; it is not described truly but through the same means.

Indeed all myth and all ritual follow the feelings

of mankind, and propound to the most commonplace intelligence the mystery of things which belong to a more difficult order; such mysteries are divined and may not be said save in simile and by a parabolic method of speech. There is thus indeed made manifest and with most certainty to the human understanding and to the scheme of its senses, and in an order of apprehension natural to them, a vast profundity of experience. Experience delivered in formulary and invocation which have been drawn down through the ancient vistas of trial and error in a tradition of right and true relation to things unseen. After all, the real secret, the hidden thing, that man seeks with such terrible pertinacity,—with rage and hate to battle upon the very terms of its ascription,—and with such debatable success, is indeed but the veritable foundation of his own thought. Which is but to say: "The Kingdom of God is within."

FREDERICK CARTER.

WHERE EUROPEAN AND INDIAN PHILOSOPHY TOUCH.

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My short paper, entitled 'Adikāra : The Fitness of a Philosopher,' in the July number of The Quest endeavoured to show that, according to Indian philosophers, a higher life and a higher personality are the indispensable conditions of a higher knowledge. Though such an idea has for long been alien to European philosophers, some thinkers of our own time have felt drawn towards it, and have manifested a profound dissatisfaction with the objects and methods of classical metaphysics. To them metaphysics is not simply a matter of speculation, but a specific attitude of life towards reality. Man must rise above the purely human and relative needs of life in order to be able to get a real knowledge of the ultimate principle or principles of life and being. In philosophers like Eucken, Nietzsche, Bergson, Tolstoy and Varisco, Western philosophy seems unconsciously to be reaching out towards Indian philosophy. They have come to feel with the Indian philosophers that a certain form of life must be lived in order to get the right approach to reality. In this they are not expressing their individual needs, but are expressing the deep-seated desire of contemporary Western consciousness. This is a hopeful sign and the never-to-be-brought-

together East and West may have here a great chance of meeting.

Eucken has penetrated far into contemporary consciousness, and has read clearly the inner meaning of the strain of melancholy that is permeating the European consciousness. Contemporary Europe is profoundly conscious of the failure of its capitalistic civilization to satisfy the innermost calls of life. It is yearning for something higher, nobler and greater than that which it has possessed hitherto; it wants something that gives to it inner power and peace. This yearning announces to Eucken the 'coming of a new concentration of life.'[1] The problem of the present, according to him, is to find the 'new world' and the 'new life' that will give man abiding peace and security.

According to Eucken, the solution to this problem does not lie in "weaving systems of Metaphysics concerning the Absolute merely from the conclusions of a logic which has hardly any affinity with life."[2] Nor does it lie in the pragmatic philosophy of life of our own times. For to Eucken life does not mean the same as it does to William James and other pragmatists. He has probably the pragmatists in mind when he writes: "Life is to-day on every tongue. But much of the prevalent sympathy towards such a point of view easily connects itself with obscurity with regard to the true conception of the problem, and consequently the most varied conceptions frustrate one another. *Often a higher and a lower grade of life are not sufficiently differentiated, and therefore what should have furthered the development of life of the spirit of man tends to*

[1] *Knowledge and Reality*, p. vi.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. vii.

fall under conceptions merely natural."[1] In opposition to the point of view of pragmatism, which makes logic a slave to the relative ends of life, he finds the true solution to the problem in creating a higher grade of "*life that shall make genuine knowledge possible.*"[2]

Thus the problem of philosophy takes a new turn and the words 'knowledge' and 'life' have acquired a new meaning in Eucken. Life as ordinarily understood is external, and "not seldom betrays powerful effects from without along with the most painful sensation of inner emptiness. This activity in connection with external things, on the one hand, and concern for the inner soul, on the other, do not unite, and consequently man's life remains split between a work without a soul and a soul empty of content."[3] Eucken suggests that "we shall be able to overcome the disruption and diminution of our life only if we succeed in coming out of our isolation and in winning once more a genuine connection of the soul with the world and in experiencing all that in *immediacy*. This can come about only if we succeed in reaching *knowledge in a special and distinctive sense, viz.* that such knowledge which at the outset only shows contact with things on their external side and as being somehow ever against us, incorporates objects into our own life and transforms their content into our possessions. Such a knowledge involves an inner appropriation of reality; unless such appropriation of reality has taken place, doubt and uncertainty will never be entirely driven out of life."[4] This kind of life is the indispens-

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. xii.-xiii. (Italics are mine.)
[2] *Ibid.*, p. xiii. (Italics are mine.)
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11. (Italics are mine.)

able condition for gaining an inner relation to reality and also an inner greatness for man. In order that one may attain metaphysical knowledge, there needs to take place 'a great turn in life.' One has to rise above the social into a super-social life. Otherwise spiritual life will suffer detriment through absorption in concern for social ills alone and it comes very near to a relapse into utilitarianism."[1] In this "*great turn* towards this new kingdom and in the *preservation* of what is actually gained here, there lies a *personal deed* —a deed which not only forms a bridge to the new kingdom, but which also *persists*, carries all along, and tells upon all activity. But throughout it is no work of 'mere man'—it is not something which he imagines and spins out of himself. What happens here within man is at the same time beyond himself."[2]

In Bergson also European philosophy has taken a new turn. The problem of philosophy is not merely speculative for Bergson; it takes its rise in an aspiration after a true and genuine form of life as well as a reality originating out of such a life. The problem of metaphysics according to Bergson is not to get a conceptual view of reality; it is rather to get an inner appropriation of reality in the immediacy of intuition. Like Eucken, he feels the need of a new form of knowledge in order to grasp the Absolute. This knowledge is profoundly different from the knowledge ordinarily spoken of. Ordinary knowledge is knowledge of the relative, while metaphysical knowledge is knowledge of the Absolute. "The first implies that we move round the object, the second, that we enter into it. The first depends upon the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 181.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

point of view at which we are placed and on the symbols by means of which we express ourselves. The second neither depends on a point of view, nor relies on any symbol. The first kind of knowledge may be said to stop at the relative; the second, in those cases where it is possible, to attain to the Absolute."[1] The first kind of knowledge is acquired through the intellect, but the second can be had only through intuition. The first serves the ordinary purposes of life; but, when employed to get at the Absolute, which human life yearns after, it fails. Bergson traces all the antinomies and contradictions of classical metaphysics to this source, intellect. [2]

Metaphysics, in order that it may avoid these antinomies and contradictions, needs a change of the psychological front. Like Eucken, Bergson also believes in a great turn of life. The tide of thought needs to be turned from its habitual groove and directed into a new one. "To philosophise, therefore, is to *invert the habitual direction of the work of thought*."[3] This inversion means not simply inversion in thought but an inversion of our total being. It is a transformation of our life from its interest in the external and the relative into a supreme yearning for the inner and the Absolute. The first step involved in this transformation is the undoing of the work of the intellect and the liberating of a newer, more unifying and synthetic cognitive power of mind. This undoing of the work of the intellect means the suppression of our ego. In the course of creative evolution the *Élan Vital*, the Absolute, has lost its original

[1] *Introduction to Metaphysics*, p. 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 57.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 59. (Italics are mine.)

unity and has got split into an infinite number of egos. The factor which has fostered this abstraction and isolation is the intellect. By its work life has got localized in an infinite number of centres, and what we call life in society, 'the merely human life,"[1] with all its good and evil, has to be traced to it. The intellect has filled life with colossal activity on its outer skirts, but has destroyed its inner harmony and peace. While it has filled the forecourt of life with bustling activity it has left the fane of life empty of content. It is this fane of life that belongs to the sphere of philosophy. In order that this fane of life may be filled with activity, a new form of life that is more than the 'merely human' life of society, must be lived. "Philosophy," therefore, for Bergson, "can only be an *effort to transcend the merely human condition.*"[2]

Nietzsche, like the other two philosophers, finds salvation for European humanity in the liberation of the creative activity of man. He speaks appealingly to his fellow men in his *Use and Harm of History* thus: "I see something higher and more human above me than I myself am; help me, all, to attain it, as I will help every one who feels and suffers as I do. In order that at last the man may arise who is full and measureless in knowledge and love and vision and power and with his whole being cleaves to nature and takes his place in it as judge and valuer of things."[3] This is Nietzsche's message to suffering humanity. His message is calculated to rouse humanity slumbering in values purely social and utilitarian to the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 65.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 65. (Italics are mine.)
[3] J. Lavrin, *Nietzsche and Modern Consciousness*, p. 11.

consciousness of deeper and more abiding values. Put in his own terminology, it is a call to the transvaluation of human life. He desires that society should no longer be regarded as an end in itself. On the other hand, the end of social organization itself would have to be, as it has been to Indian philosophers, "to facilitate the emergence of the higher type or types of man. The ideal community is not one in which the numbers are on a par, all in turn ends and means, but one in which the higher types are ends and the rest are means to them. The philosopher, the artist, the saint being the culmination of existence."[1] Though man forms society, the superman must be its goal.

Thus to all the three philosophers, philosophy is not simply disinterested speculation but a particular attitude of life towards reality. But each has his own ideal: Eucken emphasizes the ideal of peace; Bergson, the ideal of knowledge; and Nietzsche, the ideal of power. These ideals have their analogues in Indian philosophy. The ideals of Bergson and Eucken correspond to the two aspects of the Vedāntic ideal of knowledge and bliss (*jñānā* and *ānanda*) and the ideal of Nietzsche corresponds to the Śāktic ideal of infinite power. These ideals were realized ages ago by Indian philosophers and are the practical ideals of a few, even now. But they are still only ideals to Eucken, Bergson and Nietzsche. This need not take away anything from the intrinsic value of the ideals. The ideals are real ideals, and the credit of having brought them before European consciousness is due to them. Just as Bacon and Descartes are regarded as heralds of a new era in philosophy, even so

[1] Salter, *Nietzsche the Thinker*, pp. 63-64.

Eucken, Bergson and Nietzsche will be looked upon by succeeding generations as the founders of a new movement in philosophy. They have given to Europe great ideals, which are indeed difficult to attain, but which can be attained. It needs as much effort and organization for man to realize them and to evolve himself into a real 'spectator of all time and existence,' as it was necessary for the ape to evolve itself into man. Man's whole outlook on life must change, and he must be, as the Italian philosopher puts it, *ex veritate*.

"What does it mean to be *ex veritate*? The man *ex veritate*, in the first place, understands that the goods of the world are not true goods and would not be unmixed with *evil even if we could have them all*. Pleasures, health, power in a creature who will vanish like ourselves—all is vanity. Even the inward peace which is the reward of conduct, which is praiseworthy from a human point of view, is illusory and fundamentally sad. Life which exhausts itself in such experience would not be worth living. In the second place, he understands and feels, as we said, that personality, his own as well as that of others, cannot fail to have an intrinsic value. Our doing, our suffering, our aspiring to something must be justified. They are not vain appearances, but reality. Whether they do happen or do not happen cannot be all one; it cannot be indifferent and inconclusive. Our sight is darkened, our desires are disordered and impure, all or nearly all of us miss the road. But the true road exists . . . . The error is not in seeking for it, but in seeking for it where it cannot be found.

"To be *ex veritate* signifies, therefore, in substance, to be in the dispositions which are needed in

order that the truth may be recognized when it immediately presents itself. The dispositions are of a practical character—purity and rectitude, or, in other words, nobility of feeling. . . . . One can be for instance a great astronomer and a moral-good-for-nothing. . . . In philosophy it is not so. He who does not approach it with a pure heart and an upright mind approaches it in vain. For the supreme truth of philosophy is an eminently practical truth. He who does not love it seriously and with all his forces does not recognize it."[1]

G. HANUMANTHA RAO.

[1] Bernardino Varisco, *Great Problems*, pp. 28-30. (Italics are mine.)

ABOUT THE BODY OF ADAM SAGA.

THE EDITOR.

IN the last number we made accessible in English the very curious Saga of the Body of Adam from the apocryphon of the Eastern Church called *The Cave of the Treasures*. We will now attempt a few notes on the most salient points of interest only, for a commentary proper would need a treatise. First of all then let us see what our epic has itself to say about its origin. Here the Syriac and Arabic forms differ utterly, while the Ethiopic is silent.

THE SYRIAC ASCRIPTION TO EPHRAIM.

The Syriac ascribes the whole to 'Lord St. Ephraim.' The famous Syrian Church Father Mar Afrem died in 373 A.D. He was a most voluminous writer in Syriac, an ascetic and somewhat of a visionary, and expended no little of his energies in combating the powerful and popular gnostical movements in Syria, —chiefly the imported Marcionite form of Christianity, the indigenous Edessene church founded by the genius of Bardaisan at the end of the 2nd century and the religion of Mani from the 2nd half of the 3rd. He substituted hymns and compositions of his own in place of prior gnostic psalms and writings, and edited others so as to remove the 'poison' of what he deemed false doctrine. Ephraim might just *possibly* have had something to do with editing some form or other of

our epic, for it is now more or less 'orthodox' enough. But it is difficult to show the *probability* of this from his extant works.[1] All that can be said is that, like his contemporaries Epiphanius and John Chrysostom, he knew of the Calvary legend;[2] but already Origen in the early part of the 3rd century knew of this 'tradition.'[3] Ephraim may even possibly have known of what is a *characteristic* detail of our saga; for in treating of the *sacrifice of Isaac*, he says that near this mount the body of Adam was deposited.[4] Ephraim's 'testament,' however, touching the disposal of his own body, differs so from the whole thought-sphere of the *Cave*, that we can hardly suppose he was influenced by it in any way; he can then hardly have edited it for edification. Dillmann, the first translator of the Ethiopic, was content to ascribe its provenance to the 'school of Ephraim,' and in this he was followed by Bezold; but neither of them adduced any evidence.

But who was Nemesius, whom the Syriac writer treats with so much respect in regard to the Mary-genealogy? The only Nemesius who will fit at all is the Bishop of Emesa on the Orontes (last quarter of 4th cent.). But of him we know nothing beyond that he wrote a not uninteresting tractate in Greek, on *The Nature of Man*, which is still extant. It, however, contains nothing that can throw any light on our

[1] But voluminous as these are, we must remember that many others were lost in a shipwreck.

[2] In an eloquent passage he depicts the Christ on the final resurrection-day planting the standard of the cross on Calvary over the tomb of Adam (*Opp.*, Rome, 1743, iii. 499).

[3] *Comm. in Matth.*, n. 126 (Migne, *P.G.* xiii. 1777).

[4] *Opp.*, ed. Benedict., i. 100, 17. The typical nature of this sacrifice was already known to Tertullian at the end of the 2nd cent. But indeed in Jewish *agada* also the sacrifice of Isaac is regarded as the immolation of Israel and their redemption.

problem. And in any case would Ephraim have treated so respectfully one who was so very much his junior?

The Arabic Ascription to Clement of Rome.

Totally different is the Arabic account (in the Sinai MS.), which Mrs. Gibson thought might go back as far as the Mohammedan conquest. It runs as follows (p. 1):

"This book is one of the hidden books of Saint Clement the Apostle, disciple of Simon Kepha, which St. Clement commanded to be kept secret from the laity. Some of them were called 'The Book of the Rolls,' and these are the glorious genealogies and mysteries which our God and Saviour Jesus the Christ committed to his disciples Simon and James, and what things will happen at the end of time, and how the second coming of our Lord the Christ from heaven to the world will happen, and what will become of sinners and such like. This is the sixth of Clement's books, treasured up in the city of Rome since the time of the Apostles."

The text goes on to say (p. 2):

"When I [Clement] saw in what misery we were with the Jews [questioning about the genealogy of the pure Mary], I sought from my gracious teacher [Peter] that he would make known to me how mankind were at the beginning, and that he would make me perfect about the reasons, for he had learned everything from the Lord Jesus the Christ, and I was acquainted with the tongue of the Greeks and their books, and was learned in their mysteries, and I had deposited their secrets which had been entrusted to me, [in] my two books called the seventh and the eighth."[1]

[1] It is of interest to remark that it is precisely the *two* books on the mysteries which are missing from the only known MS. of Hippolytus' *Refutation*.

Later on, however (p. 18), we are told that Peter did not get the saga from Jesus, but from the Magi; for thus he is made to narrate:

"My [Peter's] initiation, O my son Clement, into the story of Adam and this his testament[1] was from the Magi who travelled to the Lady Saint Mary with offerings at the time of the birth of Jesus Christ our God and Saviour. Verily we found that we had a scroll with all this in it, and it was put by for safe keeping."

These ancient Hagiographists had 'nerve,' to say the least of it! Here we find ourselves plunged into the midst of the cycle of the apocryphal Pseudo-clementine literature, which is replete with far too many problems even to be recited here. Suffice it to say that the main type of those very interesting romances narrate the conflict between Simon Peter, the champion of primitive orthodoxy, and Simon the Magian, the first mentioned representative of gnostic notions who came into contact with the Apostolic church. Peter's orthodoxy is, however, 'eccentric,' as Dr. M. R. James calls it; indeed it is strongly Ebionitic (Judæo-Christian subsequently judged heretical) and argues an early background. Baur and the Tübingen school found in the criticism of these documents the point of departure for their treatment of the N.T. books. They worked on the theory of the conflict between the Petrine and Pauline parties in the Early Church of which the *Acts* formed the reconciling document. For them the Simon Magus of the later Clementines was *camouflage* for Paul. This 'extravagant' view is thought to have been finally

[1] Still later (p. 40) Peter refers to this part of the collection as 'The Books of the Testaments.'

disposed of, at any rate in this form. But Loisy has recently argued, over against Harnack, the drastic over-working of original *Luke* and *Acts* in later doctrinal interests somewhere about 130 A.D. And now, in contrast with our Greek and Latin (Trans.) Clementines, there comes into the field a Syriac *Life of Clement*, far simpler and more sober, and plainly of a more ancient type,[1] discovered by Dr. A. Mingana, whose acquaintance with Syriac literature is exceptional. In it Simon Magus is nowhere mentioned.[2] At the end of his researches Dr. Mingana assigns the possible date of the compilation of this new Syriac Clementine to 225-245 A.D. and its place of origin somewhere in N.E. Syria.[3] This earliest known form is cast in a mould still more Jewish than our Græco-Latin Clementines; there is a certain archaism about it, and the Syriac style is pure, shewing that it was not a translation from the Greek. With this new piece of evidence before us, then, we are not in a position to deny that Clementine pretensions were in early circulation just where our *Cave of the Treasures* originated.[4]

[1] See *Some Early Judæo-Christian Documents in the John Rylands Library*: Syriac Texts, No. 1. 'A New Life of Clement of Rome.' Reprinted from the *Bulletin*, IV. i. (Manchester, 1917). Dr. M. had already published a translation in *The Expositor*, 1914, pp. 227ff.

[2] This confirms Hort's brilliant conjecture in his posthumously printed Notes, that the Magian played no part in the original form of the story. Hort also shows that two passages of Origen (beginning of 3rd cent.) show acquaintance with an earlier form of the Clementine *Recognitions* (of which we possess only the Latin Translation of Rufinus, *c.* 400 A.D.), and that these passages depend on the Syriac Bardesanist *Book of the Laws of Countries*.

[3] This is not out of agreement as to date with the most recent criticism of the hitherto known Clementine literature, such as that of Hans Waitz. It is now generally agreed that the original romance underlying the two extant variantly developed forms (*Homilies* and *Recognitions*, latter half of the 4th century) was composed ± 200 A.D. This in its turn combined and depended on two now lost documents: *The Acts of Peter* of catholic anti-gnostic origin, and *The Preachings of Peter* of anti-pauline gnostic tendency (about middle of 2nd cent.).

[4] Unfortunately Dr. M. R. James, in his otherwise most valuable work *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924), does not include any pieces

The latter, as we now have it, is of course a composite document; and the Saga of the Body of Adam is doubtless the earliest part of the compound, the Mary-genealogy and Life of Jesus being of later date. There were also, as we have seen, two forms of ascription, or attempts to authenticate, the document, both in Syriac; for the Arabic Clementine claim is surely translated from a Syriac original. Our saga is strongly Jewish in its tissue, and there is little that is characteristically 'gnostic' about it; nevertheless there doubtless were gnosticized forms of the Adam-legends in circulation in Syriac, as the late Erwin Preuschen has shown to have been the case with the parallel Armenian literature. These he would ascribe to the widespread Sethian movement, which had a number of apocrypha in circulation ascribed to Seth as the possessor of the primal revelation.[1]

The Analysis of Götze.

I had searched far and wide in vain for a scientific analysis of our texts, and had written the above before I fell in with the admirable study of Dr. Albrecht Götze on the tradition and sources.[2] I summarize either from the *Clementina* or from our *Cave*. Referring to the former, however, he says (Introd. pp. xxiv. f.): "The Syriac, never yet translated, mingles the two forms together." But is this so, *teste* Mingana? Continuing, he writes, presumably with an eye also on the *Cave* literature: "There are epitomes and other offshoots of this literature much later in date. . . . Of these, again, there are several forms, in Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic, not yet discriminated or edited fully. Some of these treat of the world from its creation to its end, with prophecies of such late events as the rise and progress of Islam." We could wish that our great authority on apocrypha had been more explicit.

[1] 'Die apocryphen gnostischen Adamschriften aus dem Armenischen übersetzt und untersucht.' See *Festgruss Bernard Stade*, Giessen, 1900, pp. 165-298.

[2] 'Die Schatzhöhle: Überlieferung und Quellen,' in *Sitzungsb. d. Heidelberger Akad. d. W.* Phil.-hist. K., 1922, pp. 1-92. G. deals with the Syriac and Arabic texts only, and not with the later Ethiopic versions.

therefore, very briefly the main results of his painstaking labours for the benefit of the reader.

The original *Cave of the Treasures* document (*Urschatzhöle*) ended with the incident of the burning of the books. To this there was added a genealogical tree of Mary and a Life of Christ. Of this archetype we have: (1) a Syriac Nestorian elaboration with an expansion of legendary material (after 500 A.D.); (2) an Arabic Monophysite translation (*c.* 750/60), elevated to the rank of a 'Clementine' book (p. 38).[1]

Götze entirely rejects the ascription of the compilation to the school of Ephraim. There is nothing in Ephraim which accords with the peculiar content of this romance (p. 90).[2] We have first clearly to separate the genealogical and biographical additions from the original *Cave* document.[3]

In the latter G. sees the attempted explanation of a Jewish Christian to a Jew. He, the Christian, for instance, never quotes Paul; he combats even the theology of the *Letter to the Hebrews*. According to the sources he uses, moreover, he must have stood in some close relationship to gnostically coloured sects such as the Ebionites. G. contents himself, however, with the moderate estimate that we shall not go far wrong if we assign the original of the *Cave* to about the middle of the 4th century. But its sources are considerably older. They go back to the 3rd and 2nd centuries; and on them depends for us the value of the whole book. It preserves for us fragments from

[1] I can see no reason to assume that the Arabic translator should be made responsible for inventing the 'Clementine' ascription; in high probability he found it already in a variant Syriac document.

[2] G. does not give the indications above quoted.

[3] And of course it is only with this archetype that our saga has to do.

that time when hellenistic and oriental notions blended in the 'Gnosis' (pp. 91, 92).

In treating of the description of the Sethidæ as the 'Children of God,' in our *Cave*, Götze adduces 17 close parallels from the Armenian Adam-legends, which Preuschen has connected with the Gnostic Sethians (pp. 42, 43, 62). And here he adds a most interesting passage from the *Opus imperfectum in Matth.* (Migne, *P. G.* lvi. 638),[1] which purports to quote from an 'apocryphal book of Seth,' treating of the Mount of Victory (*Mons Victorialis*), *i.e.* the Mount of Triumph of our saga. It is an account of the Magi; and, as G. says, "the world of ideas of the *C. of T.* speaks here in every word" (p. 41).

Though many parallels for the events from Adam to Noah can also be found in the Clementines, the latter, in G.'s opinion, are not the source of the *Cave*. Both rather depend from a common source, which was in all probability a Hebrew or Aramaic document, traces of which may be found in *Jubilees* and in Rabbinical agadic literature (p. 61). In the Clementines Adam *is* Christ; they know nothing of a sinful fall. Our document is content with affirming that Christ became like to Adam in all things, and is eloquent on the subject of the fall. The *Cave* goes back to a Sethian source which is apparently older than the Clementines: still the relationship is so close that one can use the *Cave* as a commentary on the latter.[2]

[1] This lengthy Latin commentary (coll. 611-916) was once assigned to John Chrysostom (4th cent.), but is certainly not his. It is far from being orthodox and quotes from numerous lost apocryphal writings. It has never been methodically analyzed, and the supposed date, about the 6th century, stands in need of revision.

[2] This G. proceeds to do (pp. 63-65), in parallel columns, with passages taken from the Clementine basic document (c. 200 A.D.). The critical work done by G. on the genealogy of Mary and Life of Christ does not concern our saga; and for this and the carefully detailed and documented treatment

The Type of our Epic.

Our Christian epical drama is not unskilfully constructed. Its main scheme, however, is not original, but makes use of prior Jewish conventions. Its main prototype is *The Book of Jubilees* or *Little Genesis* (sometimes even called *The Apocalypse of Moses*), dating somewhere between 153 and 105 B.C.; while its 'Testament' contrivance for the Adamic Primal Fathers echoes that of *The Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs* (sons of Jacob), composed *c.* 109-106 B.C.[1]

Of *Jubilees* Beer well remarks that it is "a medley of the most varied sorts of sagas, opinions and observations which were current not only among the Pharisees, including the Essenes, but also among the Samaritans and other bents of belief which sprang up both within and without Palestine before the rise of Christianity."[2]

Already in *Jubilees* we find the legend that Adam was buried in the land where he was formed at Mt. Sion, the 'centre of the earth' (cp. chh. iii., iv. and viii.).[3]

Jewish Adam-Legends.

If we now turn to the Jewish legends about Adam, we are confronted by a vast mass of most heterogeneous material.[4]

underlying the above summary I must refer students to the original German treatise.

[1] For both see R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O.T.*, vol. ii. (Oxford, 1913).

[2] B. Beer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen und sein Verhältnis zu den Midrashim: Ein Beitrag zur orientalischen Sagen und Altestamentskunde* (Leipzig, 1856), p. 56.

[3] H. Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die Kleine Genesis* (Leipzig, 1874), pp. 264, 342.

[4] For many specimens the reader may consult such standard works as: Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Tr. from the German MS. by Henrietta Szold), Philadelphia, 4 vols., 1909-1913; Micha Joseph bin Gorion, *Die Sagen der Juden von der Urzeit* (Tr. into Ger. by Rahel Ramberg-Berdyczewski), Frankfort a. M., 1913; Moses Gaster, *The Exempla of the Rabbis*, London, 1924.

In Kaufmann-Kohler's article ('Adam,' *J.E.*), dealing with these legends in apocryphal Rabbinic literature, many are given which testify to the wide-spread beliefs: (1) that the 'dust' for the formation of Adam's body was taken from the holy place (the centre of the earth); (2) that the angels were consulted by the Lord when he said: "Let us make man in our image"; (3) that before the fall A. was one of the angels, of vast stature, a creature of light, of glorious beauty; (4) very old and blended with Babylonian mythology is the story of the refusal of Satan to worship Adam, of his consequent downfall and of his throne being given to A.; (5) Adam is the type of the penitent sinner, fasting, praying and bathing. There are numerous other points of interest in these legends for our saga, but the Jews know nothing of the mummification of and cult round the body of A. Of this we here read:

"His body, made an object of worship by some semi-pagan Melchisedecian sect, according to the Christian book of Adam, was shown in Talmudic times at Hebron, in the cave of Macpelah . . ., while Christian tradition placed it in Golgotha. . . . It is a beautiful and certainly an original idea of the Rabbis that 'Adam was created from the dust of the place where the sanctuary was to rise for the atonement of all human sin,' so that sin should never be a permanent or inherent part of man's nature. . . . The corresponding Christian legend of Golgotha was founded on the Jewish one."

Aptowitzer on the Golgotha Legend.

And indeed perhaps the most interesting piece of pious legerdemain is precisely the production of the

Golgotha Adam-story out of this hatful of Adam-legends. This has recently been dealt with, methodically and faithfully, in a richly-documented paper, by Dr. V. Aptowitzer of Vienna, entitled 'The Jewish Elements in the Legend of Golgotha.'[1]

Most of the ecclesiastical writers explain the name Golgotha ('Place of a Skull'[2]) by alleging that the 'skull of Adam' was buried there. In a few other Christian sources, as in our *Cave*, we find it asserted that the whole body of Adam, not only the skull, was there interred, thus rendering the 'skull' explanation nugatory. Such arguments as 'it needs must have been' so for the fulfilment of doctrine,—that 'there was set up the physician where the patient lay low,'—need not detain us. It is the 'skull' element that is of interest.

In pre-Christian times the Golgotha hill was entirely without any significance for the Jews. As to the burial of Adam's body, one very general type of Jewish legend would have it that it was deposited at Hebron in the Double Cave (*i.e.* the Cave within a Cave), where the patriarchs were buried. But there was another and not unancient legend (already current in *Jubilees*), that Adam was laid where he was made.[3] The spot must have been, as pious imagination would have it, the very centre of the earth. For the Jew this *omphalos* could be no other than the Hill of Sion, Mount Moriah, the scene of the substituted sacrifice of Isaac, the emplacement of the temple, nay of the high altar itself. A. was made and buried in

[1] 'Les Éléments juifs dans la Legende du Golgotha,' *Revue des Études juives*, Paris, 1914, Oct.-Dec., pp. 145-162.

[2] Probably originally simply 'Skull Hill' from its shape.

[3] According to the verse (*Gen.* iii. 19): "Till thou return to the earth whence thou wast taken."

Jerusalem. But this concerns the whole miraculous body of the first man, not simply his skull. Whence this Jerusalem skull,—the 'missing link' itself, and no far-off Galilean descendant of modern craniological research? Ecclesiastical apology for the Calvaria claim speaks of a 'Jewish tradition.' And indeed there *was* a story about a skull and Mt. Moriah. Under the temple-site were caverns. When Solomon was purifying the spot for the erection of the sacred edifice, a human skull was found in one of these caves. Rumour would have it that this was the head of Arauna the Jebusite, the original Canaanite owner of Mt. Jebus (Moriah). Aptowitzer adds some learned notes to show the philological possibility of 'Arauna' being changed into 'Adam' in one or other vernacular of the day. But I do not think it necessary here to resort to sound-clangs. There *was* a skull found there, according to Jewish folk-memory; Adam was buried there according to one type of Jewish legend. *Therefore* in Christian logic the skull was Adam's. Golgotha was Skull-hill. *Therefore*, once again, it was the real spot where Adam's skull was found. Christian legends had to follow Christian history, and as the centre of interest was transferred from the Temple to the Cross, the First and Second Man had to be brought into closest conjunction.

We pass next to the mysterious figure of Melchizedek.

The Figure of Melchizedek.

The very brief episode of Melchizedek, the Canaanite King-priest of the Most High (*El 'elyōn*), who blesses Abraham and to whom Abraham does homage and pays tithes from all his possessions, is the most

striking (and for a Jew very strange) incident in what is regarded historically by critics as the most puzzling chapter in *Genesis* (xiv.).[1] With such a mysterious figure legend could, and did, make great play. The only other and very brief O.T. reference to M. is in *Ps.* 120, which is generally ascribed to Maccabæan times (2nd half of 2nd cent. B.C.), when the kings of the Jews bore the title priests of the Most High. That legend was already then busy with this strange story is highly probable, and that too in some Messianic sense. For later, in Early Christian times, the writer of the *Letter to the Hebrews* brings the episode in closest connection with his conception of the Christian Messiah, but without much success. As the most recent commentator puts it[2]: "The fantastic interpretation of the Melchizedek episode is all the writer's own. What use, if any, was made of Melchizedek in pre-Christian Judaism is no longer to be ascertained. Apparently the Book of Jubilees contained a reference to this episode in Abraham's career, but it has been excised for some reason."[3]

Josephus refers to it and Philo allegorizes it in his own fashion. In later Judaism and Gnostic Christianity more interest was taken in the subject, but I can find nothing bearing on our saga. There were, however, both Jewish and Gnostic cults of Melchizedek. The most interesting study in this con-

[1] On the historical question I would refer the student especially to: R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 3rd ed., Gotha, 1916, pp. 448-461; D. Sellin, 'Melchisedek: Eine Beitrag zu der Geschichte Abrahams,' in *Neue Kirch. Zeitschr.*, Erlangen, 1905, xvi. 12; J. Meinhold, '1 Mose 14: Eine hist.-krit. Untersuchung,' in *Beihefte z. Zeitschr. f. d. alt-test. Wiss.*, Giessen, 1911, xxii.

[2] J. Moffatt, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Edinburgh, 1924, p. 91.

[3] With this point Charles has already dealt in his edition of *Jubilees* (xiii. 25n.; cp. pp. 6 and 9).

nection is that of M. Friedlaender.[1] He favours the view that the author of *Hebrews* was Apollōs, who practised the baptism of John, and set forth a teaching concerning the Messiah, which was neither that of the Jewish-Christian church nor of Paul. After his own conversion (the supposition is) he wrote the epistle chiefly to convince his former colleagues that Jesus is the Messiah and the true Melchizedek; these former associates of Apollōs were a Jewish Alexandrian sect who glorified Melchizedek as a certain great mediatorial Power.[2] Later the Gnostic sect argued that Jesus as 'a priest after the order of Melchizedek' could not be as high as M. himself.

The Cult of the Saints and Martyrs.

Perhaps the most curious element in our saga is the cult of and round the body of Adam. It is plain that in other respects the whole recital is strongly coloured by monkish notions and customs, and in this connection determined by the Christian cult of the martyrs and saints. The strangest feature, however, is the mummification of the holy body. Here the background cannot possibly be Jewish; the touching even of a dead body 'defiled the hands,' as the ritual phrase goes, and no Jew would dream of burying

[1] 'La Secte de Melchisédec et l'Épître aux Hebreux,' in *Rev. des Études juives*, Paris, 1882, v. 1-26, 188-198, vi. 187-199.

[2] How far the tradition goes back we cannot tell, but in some Talmudic circles there was a belief that Melchizedek would play a prominent part in the Messianic drama. In a note by the editor (Israel Levi) we find in the *Revue des Études juives* (1883, vii. 159) the following interesting passage (*Sukka*, 52b): "It is written in *Zechariah* (ii. 3:) The Eternal showed me four workmen. R. Hanna bar Bizna said in the name of R. Simon the Ḥasid: These four workmen are: The Messiah ben David, the Messiah ben Joseph, Elijah and Melchizedek." This is the reading of the priceless Munich MS.; the printed texts here read instead of M. 'the priest of righteousness.'

a corpse in a sanctuary. Here we must, I suppose, look to Egypt.[1]

On this point I can find no help in the most recent work on the subject.[2] In most churches the relics were kept under the altar. This place of honour was designated for them because the altar replaced the table on which the community celebrated the holy meal (p. 278). In some way the venerated departed were thought to share in that meal. But the cult of relics must have originally rested on the notion that the mortal remains still possessed some aroma of that 'virtue' which played through the organism of the saint in his lifetime; if we would be anthropological, we should say there was still *măna* inherent in it. Our author (L.), however, says nothing of all this; nor is there anything in our saga to show why the body of Adam formed so important a feature in the supposed primitive cult; why the body should have been practically the altar-table of the offerings. But assuredly there was the belief that somehow the departed saints were there, spiritually present with their bodies or relics, to aid and comfort and intercede for the faithful, as indeed the saga expressly shows.

The Body of Christ in the Ark.

In connection with the Body of Adam in the Ark, I should like to put on record, in the hope that some reader may throw light on the matter, mention of a very curious plate in the famous Antwerp Polyglot

[1] Piecemeal relic-worship is of course not Egyptian. For that we must turn to the East, where we find it in early Buddhism, and that too in the grand style (84,000 *stūpas*!), in connection with the disposal of the much-divided body of the Buddha.

[2] E. Lucius, *Die Anfänge des Heiligenkults in der christlichen Kirche* Tübingen, 1904.

Bible, printed by Plantin, 1568-72. In the last of its eight massive and admirably-printed folio volumes, there is a collection of treatises on antiquities, etc., by its learned editor, Benedictus Arias Montanus, the chaplain of Philip II. of Spain.[1] These are supplied with a number of well-executed full-page copper-plates.[2] One of these illustrates an essay on 'The Building of the Ark' and its measurements. The plate, which bears no title or explanation of any kind, presents a side-elevation and ground-plan of this 'ark.' It is, however, no ship, but a long coffin or sarcophagus; and within it, filling it completely, is the naked figure of one of noble features, with beard and long hair, and hands and feet crossed. On both the latter are the stigmata. It is thus indubitably the figure of the Christ. But of explanation there is no word either in preface, tract or plate. Is the conceit due to Montanus himself or did he copy it? Most probably it is not original with him; but of its prior existence I can find no trace.

And here I would dismiss the following piece of imaginative eccentricity as devoid of all value. Hargrave Jennings in his unsatisfactory work, *The Rosicrucians*,[3] gives a small and poor reproduction of this plate, in which the stigmata are no longer recognisable.[4] He associated this plate with a few lines, entitled 'The Prayer of Noah in the Ark before the Body of Adam,' in the work of a 17th century Oxford

[1] See Aubrey F. G. Bell, *Benito Arias Montano* ('Hispanic Notes and Monographs,' vol. v.), Oxford, 1922.

[2] Said to be designed by Montano and executed by Plantin's son-in-law Fr. Rapheleng.

[3] Not in the 1st ed. (1870), but in the 2nd (1879) and subsequent editions.

[4] He apparently obtained it from a badly-printed quarto, containing Montano's tractates and plates, entitled *Antiquitatum Judaicarum Libri XI.*, Lug. Bat., 1593.

theologian.[1] Jennings immediately ran away with the notion that the Plantin figure is intended for that of Adam. Obsessed with the erotic notions of the pre-Freudian school of 'phallicism' of his day, Jennings will have it that the 'body of Adam' represents the 'phallus' (the 'regenerator') and the 'ark,' the 'argha' or 'yoni'; not only so, but we are asked to believe that the 'prayer' before the 'body' was the 'origin of the Eucharist'![2] We feel repugnance in awakening the memory of such *deliramenta*. But this is not the only violence done to our beautiful plate by the egregious Jennings; he prints the 12 signs of the zodiac on the 11 compartments of the 'ark,' by conflating two of them, and sticks 'Mysterium' above and 'Rosicrucian System' below.[3] We are sorry for Rosicrucianism if it assents to such wild exegesis. But what evidence is there for Jennings' assertions? The only possible vague 'association' with the 'Body of Adam' saga that the serious student can call up, is from the fable in the anonymous *Fama* (1614)[4] of the (then) recent 'discovery' of the perfectly preserved body of the Founder in a mysterious vault or cave, containing a 'wealth' of books, etc. (in the estimation of the anonymous writer). These are frequently referred to as the *gaza* or treasure; just as our epic is called in Syriac *Ma'arath Gazzē* (*Cave of the Treasures*).

[1] John Gregory, *Notes and Observations upon some Passages of Scripture*, London, 1684. In treating of 'the blood of Abel' (pp. 119-123) G. quotes this prayer from what he calls the 'Arabick Catena.' It indubitably comes from our saga.

[2] See even the posthumous 'revised' 4th ed. [London, 1907], pp. 396, 399.

[3] Isaac Myer (*Qabbalah: The Philosophical Writings of Solomon Ben Yehoudah Ibn Gibrol or Avicebron*, Philadelphia, 1888) knows no better than to reproduce this disfigured plate (p. 439) with a note of his own (p. xxiii.).

[4] The earliest copy in the British Museum of the *Fama Fraternitatis, oder Entdeckung der Bruderschaft dess löblichen Ordens dess Rosen Creutzes*, is that of Frankfurt a. M., dated 1617.

Christian Rosenkreutz is stated to have been at Damascus in his youth (p. 12) some two centuries previously. Did some post-Crusade echo of our saga trickle into Europe through the devious channels of 'occult' societies? But however all this may be, for it is nebulous in the extreme at best, it has nothing to do with our plate of the 'Body of Christ in the Ark.'

The Mary Genealogies.

It is no part of our present endeavour to deal with the genealogies and their manifold contradictions. What is of interest in this connection is the reiterated confession (continuing, as we see, to the 6th cent.) that the Christians were hard put to it to meet the challenge of the Jews as to their authenticity. This question of genealogy was of very great importance in substantiating the Messianic claim. Indeed a genealogy of some kind must have formed one of the first 'proofs' demanded by the Jews; so that we can very well accept the statement of Clement of Alexandria that "the genealogies were written first." They were probably almost as early as the 'Testimonies against the Jews,' —*i.e.* the attempt to show that the life of Jesus in every respect fulfilled all the Messianic 'proof-texts' from scripture. From the naïve confessions of our documents we see that these genealogies had been very unsatisfactory, and that even our later scribes can get out of the difficulty only by elaborate subterfuge or the invocation of 'revelation.' As to this, in connection with the story of the burning of the books, the unqualified admission that Ezra rewrote the whole of the Law and the Prophets from 'inspiration,' should satisfy even the most radical critic of the O.T. documents.

But it is time to conclude these scattered remarks on some of the most salient points in the curious and interesting, if puzzling, document of the Eastern Church known as *The Cave of the Treasures*. I certainly know more about it now than when I started; for our general works of reference are silent on the topic.

G. R. S. MEAD.

SEA VOICES.

THE magic of the sea is in my blood and its mystery has filled my being. Sometimes it seems to whisper; but who can tell what secrets its ancient bosom holds. Sometimes it sighs—a long-drawn-out 'Ah!' Who can tell the cause of its grief? It is like the sigh of a mother who has lost a little one, or of a god sorrowing because his worshippers have forgotten him. Sometimes it is angry; and then it dashes itself against its ancient enemy, the land, for some quarrel unknown to men. Evanescent and human-like its moods; and always, always it is talking, talking in a language which I cannot understand.

Once as I lay meditating on the sun-drenched beach, filled with the sense of the ocean's mystery, and as I watched the tireless breakers gleaming, magnificent at their eternal play, they seemed like messengers mounted on foam-flecked horses, that champed and chafed impatiently. And the messengers seemed to have come from a very long journey; for they staggered on reaching the beach and seemed to fall gasping for breath upon the sand. I know not whether it was in a dream, but suddenly I heard voices, distant, mysterious. And yet there was nothing to be seen, except the wide ocean, and the sky bending over it and encircling it like a lover.

"Who speaks?" I asked breathlessly.

There was a silence; and then the voices sounded again,—loud voices, yet all in harmony, neither angry

nor tranquil, neither sorrowful nor gay, for they were voices unheard of men. And the sounds shaped themselves into words whose meaning I knew. Yet I could see nothing except the foam-flecked water-steeds and their mounts hurrying on, ever hurrying on towards the land, to fall exhausted there on the sand.

"Who speaks?" I called louder.

And the voices replied: "We are the Spirits of the ocean. Our voices have sounded since the beginning of time; but few men listen to us, fewer understand our message."

"Whose message do you bear?" I asked, "and what would you tell?"

For a little while nothing was heard except the ripple of water and tossed-up spray; and then words shaped themselves again.

"We bear a message for men from the Eternal whose name is ineffable. The winds and the stars have whispered it to us long, long ago; but men do not listen to us. Only those who have learned the hollowness and vanity of human speech, only those few and lonely ones listen entranced to our voices, listen to the wisdom of the stars and the winds; and then their secret sorrow and loneliness passes from them, and they grieve no more. Hearken well to the message, lonely one whose heart has been heavy with the dark mystery of being." . . .

And I listened entranced to the many voices, which yet sounded as one voice, neither angry nor tranquil, neither sorrowful nor gay,—voices unlike those heard among men. Dreamlike were the voices, yet strangely real, real as the voices of birds, as the perfumes of flowers.

"This is the message to you from the Eternal,"

the voices said. "Long hast thou sought for me, my son, and heavy has been thy heart with secret longings and with loneliness; but longer, far longer have I sought for thee. I have whispered to the winds and the stars and the waves to seek thee out, for I am hungry for thy embrace. Æons ago I gave birth to thy soul, and watched with joy thy slow growth in strange forms of plant and creeping thing and winged creature and animal. With joy I watched thee sport with others of my children. And then, when thou didst begin to grow in my own likeness, I lost thee and thou didst wander in dark places alone. Many ages wert thou lost to me and throughout many lives. But when I heard thy plaintive cry, my son, I sent the winds and the stars and the waves to guide thee back to me. Good has been thy wanderings, for thou hast learned much on thy long sojournings. Thou hast become fearless and strong and learned compassion to all living things. Return unto me, my son, on the path of holiness and peace. I am hungry for thy embrace."

And the voices distant, mysterious, which sounded as one voice, passed away. I looked about me but could see nothing except the foam-flecked water-steeds and their mounts hurrying on, ever hurrying on towards the land, to fall exhausted there on the sand. . . . Nothing could I see but the wide ocean and the sky bending over it, encircling it like a lover. . . . But a strange gladness filled me as I lay on the soft yielding beach-sand; for it seemed to me I was lying on the soft tender breast of God, and that the soft breeze was His kiss upon my cheek.

LEON PICARDY.

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CHEIROMANCY IN THE ZOHAR.

(DR. GERHARD SCHOLEM, Sub-librarian of the University Library, Jerusalem, is making a scientific analysis of the Kabalistic Zoharic documents. Among other things he had made a collection of all the physiognomical passages and sent them to Dr. R. Eisler for future publication in the series of Jewish mystical works the latter is editing. Among them I was struck with the following highly symbolical passage (II. 74 a, b) partly bearing on cheiromancy as perhaps of special interest to those who would study the history of this curious form of 'divination' which has won a new popularity in our own day. Dr. Scholem, who has been compelled to pass a very unfavourable verdict on De Pauly's French version of the Zohar, gives his own translation from the Aramaic into German, and this is Englished below.—ED.)

YE children of the world, masters of discernment, of open eyes, masters of the faith which was hidden in you! Let him who among you ascends and descends, in whom is the Spirit of the Holy God,—let him arise and perceive:

When the fashioning of Man arose in the purpose of the 'White Head,' He smote in the interior of a 'Lamp'; and the 'Lamp' smote [further] in an expansion, which shone; and the expansion brought forth Souls. In like fashion also He smote in the interior of a strong Rock; and this Rock brought forth a flaming Fire, inwrought in many colours; and that Flame ascended and descended, until that expansion (emanation) of the 'Lamp' smote upon it; and thereon it turned back and settled in its place and became Spirit of Life. And this Spirit was sealed. And He took colour from the Sun; descended and took colour from the Moon; turned to the right and took colour of Water, held in the mouth of a Lion; turned to the left and took colour of Fire, held in the mouth of

a Bull, red as the rose; turned forwards and took the colour of the Wind, held in the mouth of a great Eagle, great of wing and feathered, all colours show forth in it; turned backwards and took colour of the Earth, held from all four directions in the mouth of the Man, and all forms were seen in it.

That Spirit settled in that Earth and clothed itself in it. Thereon that Earth throbbed, and descended, and struck on one side of the four quarters of the world; and there arose a Form and a Face; and that Spirit was hidden in the interior of the innermost. And that Earth, which had been gathered together from the four quarters, struck against the Nefesh-soul, which is contained in the Earth; and that Nefesh-soul is the foundation of the deeds of the body. According to the deeds of that Nefesh-soul in the body, the Spirit, which is hidden within, becomes visible on the skin without. And it shows forth outwardly, ascends and descends, and smites upon its face and makes forms and signs appear, smites upon its forehead and makes forms and signs appear, smites upon its eyes and makes forms and signs appear. Hereof it is said [*Is.* iii. 9]: "The discernment (A.V. shew) of your face bears witness against you." The 'Lamp,' from which the expansion of a yellow streak, of a flame of chaos, emanated, strikes, while the man sleeps, against his hands, and draws signs and lines on his hands, and as the man acts, so is he marked. And these letters change from below to above; and the initiated know the signs of the letter of the 'Lamp.' And all those powers of the interior in the man produce signs and lines,—ever-changing letters. He who is formed, is formed in the days of the 'Dwelling,' as it is said [*Ps.* 139]: "I was formed in the depths of the earth."

NOCTURNE-FANTASY.

NIGHT'S eerie touch upon my senses pressed
  Where, ringed with woods, a lake before me lay;
It seemed a world estranged and repossessed
  By mystic powers that pined in slow decay.

The moon looked down on all with pale, sad beam
  And weirdly blanched the water; lightly stirred,
The leaves sighed drearily; now the night-bird's
    scream,
  Now patter of feet or flutter of wings was heard.

Suddenly on the hushed, enchanted air
  A horn rang out and, flaring through the gloom,
Past swept the furious car with fiercer blare,
  That woke faint echoes, seeming cries of doom,

As though the elder powers bemoaned in vain
  Man's long encroachment on their fading reign.

P. J. HUGHESDON.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

The Mind and Its Place in Nature.

By C. D. Broad, M.A., Litt.D., Fellow and Lecturer in Moral Sciences, Trinity College, Cambridge, Author of 'Scientific Thought,' etc. London (Kegan Paul); pp. 674; 16s. net.

Published in the valuable series known as 'The International Library of Psychology, Philosophy and Scientific Method' this fat volume by Dr. Broad, who has succeeded McTaggart at Trinity, excellently combines all three modes of treatment. It is a notable contribution to the study of mind, and Dr. Broad's own choice out of some 17 alternative types of metaphysical theory which he expounds and criticizes, has been singled out for discussion later on at a symposium of the Aristotelian Society. That is to say, it is deemed worthy of special attention in the chief philosophical circle in this country. Dr. Broad calls the theory he prefers, the 'Compound Theory.' It is a modification of the 'Instrumental Theory,' and links up with the general theory of Emergent Evolution with which Professors Alexander and Lloyd Morgan have of late made us familiar. Dr. Broad is throughout the reverse of a dogmatist in any sense and tentatively puts forward his view as the most probable simply, and in studiously moderate language. Thus, for instance, on p. 585, he writes: "Might not what we know as a 'mind' be composed of two factors, neither of which separately has the characteristic properties of a mind, just as salt is a compound of two substances, neither of which by itself has the characteristic properties of salt? Let us call one of these constituents the 'psychic factor' and the other the 'bodily factor.'" From these two in combination a 'mind' proper 'emerges.'

Dr. Broad in his review of theory does not go back beyond Descartes, and has nothing to say of Eastern views; but his insight into the many varieties of modern theory is penetrating, and his analyses and criticisms are those of a very acute intellect, that would be ever precise in the meaning of terms and is highly skilled in the discipline of logic. His discussions and arguments are at times difficult for the layman to follow; but where he can follow, he gets the strong impression that Dr. Broad's is a mind

that knows its job, and that he is speaking in such fashion as to meet with a respectful hearing among his academical colleagues. This being so, the volume under notice has a certain special distinction that marks it out from similar surveys, and which is of great interest to many of our readers. Dr. Broad throughout his own theorizing allows for the inclusion of the facts of abnormal psychology and the general phenomena of psychical research. He boldly declares that it is neither philosophical nor scientific to reject the evidence *à priori*, and that if his sceptical colleagues would take the trouble to investigate as he has done, they would find it no longer possible to deny the phenomena, however they might try to explain them. This is a notable advance; it is the thin end of the wedge beginning to bite into the granite of conservative, academical imperviousness. It is not, of course, to be expected that so careful and cautious a thinker as Dr. Broad, who is one of the younger generation, can go as far as some of the veterans of psychical research. At present he judges that the voluminous evidence of the Proceedings of the S.P.R., and his own experiments, which he admits are not of a very extensive nature, do not seem to him scientifically to establish 'survival,' but they do beyond question prove 'persistence' of what he calls the 'psychic factor,' after death. This is very much to admit for one who is addressing a philosophical and scientific public, and who lectures to graduates and undergraduates. We can leave it with satisfaction at that, simply remarking that, much as we appreciate the careful records made by the many years of industry of the S.P.R., they are by no means the only records. The persistence of the 'psychic factor,' to which Dr. Broad will not give the status of a mind proper, is at any rate a beginning; and, for the rest, our philosopher, who has also had a scientific training, does not deny the *possibility* of 'survival.' He judges only, as far as his own reading and experience go, it is 'not proven' scientifically.

KNOWLEDGE AND VIRTUE.

By P. N. Waggett, D.D., Society of St. John the Evangelist. The Hulsean Lectures at Cambridge for 1920-21. Oxford (Clarendon Press) 1924; pp. 217; 10s. 6d. n.

THIS is a book of which one would like to speak well both from its tone and from the character of the author as publicly known. Dr. Waggett came into notice in early life through the commendation of Romanes for his combination of equipment in science

with enthusiasm in religious faith. He became widely known as a preaching member of the Anglican Community known as the Cowley Fathers, expressing himself by innumerable oral addresses and by several volumes of essays. One of the first of the English clergy to expound Evolution in Science, he did this in combination with the presentation of a solid corpus of Christian doctrines. In 1920 he was invited to give the Hulsean Lectures before the University of Cambridge which he now publishes in the volume before us.

It is necessary, however, to say at the outset that, from one circumstance or another, the lectures are far from being a well-proportioned whole or systematic treatment of the particular topics brought up. Readers accustomed to find their books orderly as landscape-gardens—as many are in these days, fortunately—are likely to be discomfited on a first perusal. Dr. Waggett would have done well to defer publication—did not Hort keep his Hulsean Lectures in MS. for 20 years?—until he could use what he has said here as material for a treatise with more of architectural plan. But the main purpose is single and clear; and the areas of experience in which Dr. Waggett has made his observations and from which he draws his inferences are neither commonplace nor esoteric. The reader must indeed be richly endowed who does not find much that has the attraction of freshness both as to important facts and to highly suggestive, if not always convincing, judgments and opinions.

His previous position has had a special turn given to it by his experiences and observations in the War and in the situation which has followed it. From the memories of a War Chaplain's tent and from association with the reconstructive efforts, political, social and religious, in Palestine he is deeply affected by the prevalence of much disillusion, disappointment and despondency. Though allowing for much that is of good cheer, and even of hopefulness, he is obliged to recognize the predominance of perplexity and of anxiety. And he asks for the remedy. After considering the claims of increased effort and energy, of more discipline and control, and of more ardent piety, he has concluded that the greatest need is for more and better *Knowledge*. We are distracted largely because we are 'driving without lights.' The cure must be intellectual: insight rather than energy; vision than service; study than practice; scholarship than statesmanship; sages rather than rulers are our pressing need. Virtue? Yes, but the virtue which follows upon, and is guided by,

illumination. Of course, Dr. Waggett means more by Knowledge than bare intellectual qualities; he includes sympathy with man, and reverence towards God. But it is vision of realities that is the essential element on which he relies.

This is notable as coming from one who has lived through the situations above indicated and been familiar with the abundant proffers of the other remedies with which he compares his own; and who has made his observations in such close contact with young men.

The present writer cannot think that he has made out his case in these days when judgment by values has won supremacy over what are called judgments of fact or existence. Though some reference to values is implicit in our author's conception of Knowledge, he certainly seems to have insufficient appreciation of the emotional and the moral factors of belief, and of the volitional factor involved in religious 'faith.' Yet there is distinct merit and courage in his recalling us to the indispensableness of Knowledge, as such, as a cure for the *malaise* of our time; to its efficacy being as potent for our guidance as the lighting of a lamp for the motorist or cyclist who finds himself surrounded with suddenly fallen darkness in an unknown country. Even if an illuminating light is not, by itself, a sufficient means of deliverance to a benighted traveller, it is indispensable. And this is so, whether it be a wider spread of knowledge in the whole community or an increase of insight and wisdom gained by a few great minds whom the multitude can follow.

Readers of THE QUEST will be interested to find that Dr. Waggett, deeply versed in the sciences as he is, and without employing specialized terminology, is in accord with the standard methods of mysticism in his treatment of Knowledge. He has the three stages: (1) ordinary opinion; (2) rational: the sciences, history, logic; and (3) the higher immediacy of intuition. He has a genial estimate of the fresh and naïve level of common opinion, especially of youth with its dreams and ventures; he respects the level of science and reasoning; but he agrees with the Mystics in the supreme value of 'the direct perception of Divine realities.' He agrees with the leaders of mysticism also in emphatic insistence upon the highest level being not, in its ideal, a succession of discontinuous flashes of illumination but a progressive accumulation of profound experiences and noble ideas. And he marks the occurrence of intervals of darkness and unknowing which have to be passed through.

His illustrations are not drawn from specifically mystical literature; his associations have made ordinary Christian experience more familiar to him. Our readers will find some freshness in the examples he makes use of: *e.g.* the vindications of Knowledge by St. Paul in *Ephesians*, by Clement of Alexandria and, in our own day, by the vicissitudes of Christian Socialism in respect to the relative efficacy of thought and practice.

We would specially recommend these lectures to any who feel somewhat aggrieved by the insufficient regard at the present day for the Aristotelian vein of mentality. They will find in them, we think, a more pervading Aristotelian habit and attitude than in any other course with similar aim. A liberal valuation of common sense, a sincere respect for science and history, and a dominating reverence for the highest intuitions, constitute a 'Knowledge' which surely offers great promise of leading us to see a way to better and brighter days. This generally. And in Dr. Waggett's atmosphere and range of illustrative history the Christian believer will find that the remedy recommended for belief and hope in general is particularly applicable to the faith and life of the Christian Church to-day.

A. CALDECOTT.

THE CHAITANYA MOVEMENT.

A Study of the Vaishṇavism of Bengal. By Melville T. Kennedy, M.A., Warden, Young Men's Christian Association Student Hostel, Calcutta. London (Oxford University Press); pp. 270; 6s. net.

THE general remarks on Dr. Griswold's *Religion of the Rig Veda* apply also to this capable volume, which is published in 'The Religious Life of India' Series, edited by Drs. Farquhar and Nicol Macnicol. It deals with an extreme and very special phase of *bhakti*, or enthusiastic religious devotion, with a passionate abandonment that is largely bound up with forms of expression, indicative of sexual intimacy, which are only too easy to misunderstand and criticize adversely. We are very sensible of the delicacy, tact and restraint with which Mr. Kennedy has treated his subject-matter in the bulk of his treatise. It is an excellent presentation of the life and original movement of the ascetic Chaitanya in the first half of the sixteenth century, and of subsequent developments. This being so, he may be excused for

concluding in his last chapter with the following somewhat too general summary of contrasts in erotic mysticism (p. 252):

"1. *Source.* In Christian erotic mysticism the chief literary source is non-Christian, forming no part of the New Testament literature and teaching which are determinative for Christian devotion. The allegorical teaching based upon it is rejected to-day as being unhistorical and invalid.

"In Chaitanya Vaishṇavism the literary source is the body of sacred scriptures themselves. The religion of the sect centres in the Rādhā-Kṛishṇa stories; they are the fountain source of all its devotion. Its eroticism therefore flows from its very heart.

"2. *Character.* In Christian eroticism the symbolism is entirely drawn from marriage. The Hebrew songs are sensuous indeed, but they are of pure and lawful love. The symbol itself is high and pure, the offensiveness lies in its use as a channel for suppressed sex-feeling by weak creatures in the guise of devotion to the Highest and Holiest.

"In the Rādhā-Kṛishṇa cult the symbolism is not drawn from the pure imagery of marriage, but from that of illicit passion. The relation of the two is that of paramour and mistress, for that is the heart of the doctrine of *parakīya* [mistress, wife of another], which triumphed in the sect. This interpretation is evident in most of the literature.

"3. *Value.* In Christian mysticism the erotic is held to be a distinct fall below the general level of mystic expression. It represents conditions of life and experience usually abnormal and often pathological. It is not only offensive to Christian taste, but is felt to be morally reprehensible.

"Among the Chaitanyas the Rādhā-Kṛishṇa cult and all connected with it is held to be the highest possible symbol of spiritual aspiration, and imaginative participation in it is commended as the path to the highest religious experience.

"4. *Proportion.* In Christian mysticism the erotic is a minor element, negligible outside of the mediæval period.

"Among the Chaitanyas their mystical experience is almost wholly governed by the erotic. The religious experience of the sect moves entirely within the circle of the Rādhā-Kṛishṇa cult. It is steeped in the erotic and moulded by it."

The objection to this summary is that the subjects of contrast are not clearly enough limited. The contrast is not between the erotic in Christian mysticism and that in Indian as a whole, but between the Song of Songs eroticism and that of the very special

cult under review. The judgment of the one by the saner mysticism of Christianity should have been paralleled by the judgment of the other by the saner mysticism of Hinduism and Buddhism. What Mr Kennedy says in criticism of the extreme erotic element in Christian mysticism would be as strongly emphasized by many a teacher in India of the extravagance of this special form of Vaishṇavism.

SPINOZA.

Von den festen und ewigen Dingen. By Carl Gebhardt. Heidelberg (Carl Winter); pp. xlix. + 594; 8s. 6d.

AFTER the break-down of the materialistic philosophy so rampant and aggressive during the second half of the last century, the world of thought is beginning to turn round to Spinozism and reconsider it. It is interesting for the history of evolution of modern philosophy to watch the changes through which the appreciation of Spinoza and his system have passed. Neglect is now a thing of the past, and more and more the lasting importance of this philosophic system is being recognized as offering one of the best solutions of the many problems which beset the human mind. It is, therefore, highly desirable by those not acquainted with Latin to have a faithful and reliable translation approximating as closely as possible to the original; and no man is more qualified for the task than Professor Gebhardt, one of the leading spirits and driving forces of the new Spinoza movement.

A translation, of course, can never claim to represent with absolute fidelity the original. And greater difficulty awaits the translator of Spinoza's works than one who deals with a classical Latin author steeped in the tradition of the ancient language. It must be remembered that in Spinoza's day Latin was an artificial language, and that Spinoza, moreover, had special difficulties to overcome when endeavouring to formulate his theories,—not only in using a language not his own, but in trying to find in it equivalents for words and terms borrowed from the Hebrew. It is becoming more and more evident that in fundamental principles Spinoza was indebted to a far larger extent than has hitherto been surmised to his Jewish predecessors, such as Gabirol, Kreskas, Aben Ezra, and above all, the great philosophic work of Maimonides, *The Guide of the Perplexed*. Anyone then who attempts to translate this philosopher's treatises adequately, must endeavour to penetrate behind the Latin form to a Hebrew

original. No one, therefore, has been able thus far to produce more perfect translations than one who, like Professor Gebhardt, is conscious of this peculiarity and has tried to reflect in his versions the original form of Spinoza's thought.

But important as such a translation is for the true understanding of Spinoza's works, this is not here the sole or chief interest of Professor Gebhardt. His real aim has been to reconstruct out of the different treatises of Spinoza a comprehensive work which should contain everything that is of specific value and importance, whether preserved in separate tractates or found in his Epistles, so as to give a full picture of Spinoza's philosophy. He thus gives us in the first chapter *De Intellectus Emendatione*, followed by portions from the Ethics, rearranged for the purpose of giving complete sequence of thought; then comes a section from the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, and again the thread is taken up from the Ethics. It is true Spinoza speaks to us throughout in his own words; but this readjustment or rearrangement and attempted completion of the system gives us a more coherent view of Spinoza's philosophy; one chapter completing, as it were, and commenting on the other. Professor Gebhardt calls his volume *Of the Things Permanent and Eternal;* and this standpoint helps the student of Spinozism to understand the thought of Spinoza in a manner best calculated to achieve his purpose. The language is clear and terse. The book itself is very well-printed, handy in size and cheap. It may be confidently said that no better guide for the study of Spinozism exists than Gebhardt's *Von den festen und ewigen Dingen.* The author has added a short, but useful Introduction, in which he defines Spinozism and lays stress on its importance for our modern life in its manifold aspirations and manifestations.

M. GASTER.

THE MASONIC INITIATION.

By W. L. Wilmshurst, P.M. 275, Past Provincial Grand Registrar (West Yorks.). London (Rider); pp. 223; 10s. 6d. net.

IT is a hopeful sign that there is in the world to-day a public who will support such a book as this. Not only Masonic brethren but others outside the Order are beginning to inquire: What is 'initiation,' what does it imply?

Now there have always been 'mysteries' in the world, things hidden from the masses,—not necessarily withheld, but simply

unintelligible to those who have not undergone the necessary training for their comprehension, as, for example, the science of engineering or electricity would be a mystery to one who had not made a special study of their respective details.

'Initiation' in its fullest sense means a conscious participation in the 'mysteries,' and it is this most important problem which our author has set himself to expound, and which he has very ably succeeded in doing. For him Masonry means more than passing through certain ceremonies and being in consequence said to be 'on the square,' and able to wear a little charm on his watch chain. He sees in the brotherhood the possible foundation of a great and glorious spiritual edifice which shall draw within its portals all who aspire to a fuller knowledge of the infinite possibilities of their nature, and are willing to use that knowledge, when attained, for the uplifting of all men.

Here and there throughout the world there is a yearning for more than is taught to-day in the schools and churches. Many of these seekers drift into Masonry and find what they want in it. They say that Masonry is their religion. But it is not really so, and certainly not in any sectarian sense. It numbers among its members brethren of almost every known religious belief, Oriental as well as Occidental. Brother Wilmshurst makes this quite clear in the very beginning of his book, when he says: "Masonry is not a religion, though it contains marked religious elements and many religious references."

The question what Masonry is, and what it is possible for it to become, is the chief object of this interesting and instructive volume; and in answer the author has given his companions in Masonry much to think over. It remains to be seen what use they will make of it. Many of them will not read it at all. Some will glance through its pages superficially, and go on memorizing their little bits of ritual in the parrot-like way they have always done. But a few will see his real meaning, and begin the task of putting their own lives in order.

When all is said, there is only one thing in life *really* worth doing. It has been called by many names, but it comes down to this: doing God's work in the world. But to work in harmony with the Divine Pattern requires Love and Wisdom and Power, and these are not lightly acquired; some system of training is necessary. This was attempted in the Ancient Mysteries by a graduated system of training extended over a lengthy period; and this is reflected, as if from a far distance, in the Rites of Initiation

in Masonry, and accounts for the lure in things Masonic. Behind these shadows is the reality for those who have eyes to see and ears to hear.

Brother Wilmshurst points out to the inquiring Mason where he may find such things. I testify to the absorbing interest of his book and to much that is real behind his utterances. I began the volume on a long train journey and finished the two together, and the time slipped away like the hurrying miles. Indeed there are so many good things in the book that to start enumerating them would be to extend this notice beyond reasonable bounds; but I can assure my readers inside the fraternity that it contains many practical hints as to the best way of bringing about that Golden Age in Masonry towards which so many earnest brethren now so keenly aspire.

A. L. C.

Intelligence in Expression.

With an Essay: Originality of Thought and its Physiological Condition. By Leone Vivanti. Translated by Prof. Broderick Bullock, with a Foreword by Prof. H. Wildon Carr. London (C. W. Daniel); pp. 205; 10s. 6d. net.

My first impression of this book was that it was quite the most unhappy example of *un*intelligence in expression that it had ever been my misfortune to wrestle with. I should have been willing to concede that the book as a whole might be the expression of an idea, but I should have denied any meaning at all to many passages to be found in it. For example: "The reality of a thought—a many twinkling transparency, a transparency of endless lucidity —in what does it consist?

"The value-principles of individuation, and of universality (identity in the essence, in the intrinsic, or universal of activity); activity in these its inseparable values, which are yet not altogether reducible to each other; this original light, this value of light, which is individuation and intrinsicality; this motive-value; this active creative 'pleasure'; this 'prime,' this underived cause, and, as I believe, this cause in these two causes, in these two values; the values of individuation and universality weave—so to say—this transparent reality" (p. 161).

So far as to a first impression. But reflection suggested caution; it could hardly have been sheer chance which led the

author in the development of his theme to touch on so many of the questions which lie at the very root of Philosophy. And, indeed, the book, once its controlling idea is grasped, is a book, if not of supreme importance, yet of that real value which is inseparable from the expression of a living and personal, but at the same time eternal and super-personal *nisus*.

"If," says Professor Carr, in his Foreword, "philosophy is still for us the science of God, its object is no longer other-worldliness, but the apprehension of our actual world in its integrality." To avoid recourse to *other-worldliness*, on the legitimate ground that this recourse is really futile and ineffective for the purpose, to make our actual world intelligible *within itself*, and finally to make it intelligible in *its integrality*, that is without falsifying any of its values—such, I conjecture and believe, is the main purport and interest of the Gentile-Croce Italian immanentist idealism of which, Prof. Carr tells us, Signor Vivante is a disciple, though an independent one. This criticism of trancendentalism, which is equally and at the same time a criticism of 'materialism,' is most effectively illustrated in the early chapters of the book by a discussion of 'the relation between concept and expression in poetry and prose.' 'Poetry,' for the purposes of the antithesis, must be extended to cover all really literary prose, while 'prose' must be limited to such prose as the specification for a refuse-destructor which a municipality might send out for tenders.

That creation of philosophical sophistication the 'plain man' is sometimes supposed to entertain the notion that a really good book might be written by the co-operation of two men: one of them a desperately practical and hardheaded fellow, master of 'the facts,' the other a 'literary gent' (presumably with long hair) who would supply 'the style.' This external conception of the relation between style and meaning is, of course, wholly shallow and false. In good poetry, and in good prose too, there is a perfect adequacy and correspondence of matter and form; the same meaning could not be expressed in any other words or way; nor is there any surplusage, nor anything accidental in the style; every element of it contributes to the meaning; the sound of the words, the setting and look of them, their rhythm, the associations which are called up by their philological history, the pauses, corrections, the apparent doubts and hesitations—not one of them could be left out without some loss. In good prose and poetry the externality of the relation between concept and expression is

wholly overcome, so also is externality in the form of separation between means and end (final cause); we do not need to look outside it for any satisfaction which ought to be had. If then we can, or can bring ourselves to believe that we can, take the spectacle and history of the universe in this way, we shall have overcome, or shall bring ourselves to believe that we have overcome, the dualism between what 'ought to be' and 'what is,' and this without recourse to calling into being another world to redress the balance of this one. We shall seem to have grasped our actual world 'in its integrality,' *i.e.* to have included and done justice to its functions of identity, eternity and value—without falling into 'other-worldliness.'

G. CATOR.

THE RELIGION OF YESTERDAY AND OF TO-MORROW.

By Kirsopp Lake, D.D., Professor of Early Christian History in Harvard University. London (Christopher); pp. 179; 7s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR KIRSOPP LAKE is one of the finest and most fearless scholars that the Church of England has produced. He enjoys the very great distinction of having occupied the chair at Leiden for ten years in succession to van Manen, and of having subsequently had a special chair created for him at Harvard. Liberal and 'Modernist,' or as he would prefer to call it 'Experimentalist,' he is convinced that the best in Christianity founds on experience, and that the life-giving spirit of the faith is adequate to re-adapt its formularies now, as in the past, to the cultural environment in which it finds itself. The book before us consists of 8 chapters, originally delivered as lectures. Under the heading 'Yesterday' are reviews of: (1) Catholicism, (2) Protestantism, (3) The Theological Storm in the Nineteenth Century, (4) The Real Divisions in Modern Protestantism; and under that of 'To-morrow' forward-looking appreciations of: (5) The Faith, the Bible and the Creeds, (6) God and Prayer, (7) Jesus, (8) The Probable Results of the Clash of Parties. Most useful is Prof. Lake's survey in (4), where he deals with the present position of the Fundamentalists, Institutionalists (the Moderating party) and Modernists or Experimentalists. Here his first-hand acquaintance with the state of affairs in Holland and the United States makes his exposition of special value to the English reader. But our author is very far from being simply a historian, he is

very much alive, feels very deeply. Giving its due place to the moderating and sanative power of right reason, he welcomes all modern knowledge, scientific or philosophic, that throws light on religion; thus he pleads eloquently that traditional theology should reform itself and cheerfully put on clean garments of truth and beauty when the old swathings have become soiled and indeed not infrequently little better than mummy-wrappings. He does not pretend to say what will be the outcome when all is at present so vague and doubtful, but has great hopes that certain present endeavours will lead to a widespread attempt to educate and purify the emotions; "for the threat to civilization comes from emotional and not intellectual failure." But religion is not education; it is far more than this, most valuable though right education indubitably is. The centre, the heart of the whole matter, is that the religion of to-morrow must allow as essential to its deepest life a place in it for the mystical experience,—"the experience of workers who lose themselves in their work, of artists who lose themselves in the beauty which they feel, of those in whom friendship has lept the barriers of self, and of saints the eye of whose soul has been able to endure the vision of the One. It is this experience that is the basis of mysticism. It is not an emotion; it is a different form of consciousness."

A suggestion of some importance to some of us is that, instead of using the term 'mystery-religions,' which has been provocative of much misconception among the general, we shall speak of the 'sacramental religions.'

THE ETHICS OF THE GOSPEL.

By F. A. M. Spencer, B.D. Oxon. London (Allen & Unwin); pp. 255; 7s. 6d. net.

THE term 'Christian Ethics' is not in itself attractive. It is doubtful whether any other subject has produced an equal number of books labouring in a heavy atmosphere of dullness. Three especially we remember—one American, one German, and one English—of portentous prolixity. 'Ethics' suggests Science, and its association with Religion has the appearance of a compound of the kind which chemists call 'mechanical': and this is especially marked if we attempt to link together Ethics and a *Gospel*.

But leaving aside this preliminary doubt, we would say at once that Mr. Spencer's volume is neither heavy nor prolix. If

there does not ring in it much of the resonance or stirring enthusiasm appropriate to Religion, it yet speaks in a quiet firm way, marking out great principles of moral life and showing their application to urgent problems of Duty.

Its scope is clearly defined: to set out the moral teachings of Jesus as in the Synoptic writings, with some references to St. Paul and a few to St. John by way of confirmation or illustration. The general principles are set out, with their application to such urgent problems as non-resistance, riches, marriage, asceticism, sin, and social duties. These concrete teachings are dealt with critically and constructively. For example, non-resistance to evil is considered in reference to Tolstoi, the advocates of Interim-ethics, Professor Gardner and the Biologists and Psychologists who deal with the natural origins of self-defence, protection of others, and pugnacity generally. Mr. Spencer himself holds that the various utterances of Jesus are to be interpreted in the light of deeper references to paramount consideration for the welfare even of enemies, and for faith in the eventual victory of Charity. There are added some important extensions after the originating period: the formation of a Church, work in the world, family life, art, charity (as almsgiving), sex, race, and classes due to industrial organization. Besides these expositions Mr. Spencer gives brief outlines of three modern Ethical theories: Kantian, Utilitarian, Idealism (Green & Bradley), in order to compare the teaching of Jesus with these products of the modern mind.

There is a reaching out towards religious force behind all the 'teachings' in the chapter where it is not the various teachings but the lesson of the Cross which is indicated as the central force of 'the appeal of Jesus.'

There is no resort to the 'Mystical Element,' save in one or two places where it breaks in by its own irresistible force. But this is not to say that Mr. Spencer has no Mysticism, though he does not employ it here: there is no opposition to it, either expressed or implied.

It may be noted that besides his wide reading and careful reflection, Mr. Spencer has had access to a range of pathological observation through his ministerial duties as Chaplain of H.M. prison at Oxford. Within the boundaries indicated his book deserves a cordial recommendation to the general reader, and in particular to teachers who concern themselves seriously with the moral and social features of education.

A. CALDECOTT.

Christian Missions and Oriental Civilizations.

By Maurice T. Price, Ph.D. Shanghai; pp. xxvi.+578.

THE author of this book raises a problem which deserves the most careful consideration from every student of human culture. Following a course of Sociological study at the University, he applies the method taught there to the elucidation of the effect which missionary propaganda has among the nations of the East and Africa. As he says in his preface: "This study takes up human reactions, it offers no 'spiritual,' theological or metaphysical interpretations of them. It depicts certain processes found in nationalism; it presents no nationalistic program." As far as possible he avoids being influenced by theological bias, and so studies with impartiality the impact of missionary activity on the various nations and races. A study of this kind is without doubt one of high psychological importance. Dr. Price is aware that propagandistic activity has been judged in many ways by men occupying different positions among many races, by men therefore who have had very different experiences. The present volume is to be the precursor of others in which these studies are to be continued and more detailed attention is to be paid to the other phases and aspects of missionary activity and its results. The author does not shrink from reproducing many anti-missionary statements. His object is to draw such conclusions as his own observations will allow, and to compare them with the experiences of others. It is a valuable study, both in its composition and in the manner in which the subject is treated. It opens up a new view on the spiritual relations resulting from the contact of two cultures which are not satisfied to live peaceably together side by side, but one of which strives to destroy the other, and to take its place, in the races thus spiritually conquered. Two questions, however, here arise. There are men and men; and the type of missionary in one part of the world is not the same as that found elsewhere. The idealistic are very rare; and of the others the more narrow-minded seem to be in the majority. The methods of procedure in one case differ fundamentally from those adopted in the other. This, no doubt, justifies the widely differing judgments of the work of the missionaries. But has the author avoided the pit-fall of generalization? It seems not to be so; for Dr. Price moves more or less in abstract propositions of a psycho-sociological character, while the examples adduced are not sufficient to cover the whole case. Excellent as an analysis from a theoretical point

of view, the volume thus falls short when viewed from the practical and individual standpoint. The desire of promoting a common culture among all the nations of the world, and thereby insuring universal peace, is the ultimate aim of this study. This is good; but it is therefore, above all, pertinent to ask from the psycho-sociological point of view whether Western culture is fit in any way to serve that purpose when foisted upon the nations of the East.

The author's industry in the compilation of this book is praiseworthy and is best seen in the rich bibliography appended. Finally we venture to think it unfortunate that in America so many new scientific terms are coined which strike one very unfamiliarly on this side of the water, and which do not make the perusal of such a book any the easier. Before a common culture is established, would it not be advisable to establish a common cultural language?

M. GASTER.

THE ROMAN QUESTIONS OF PLUTARCH.

A New Translation with Introductory Essays and a Running Commentary. By H. J. Rose, M.A. (Oxon.), Professor of Latin at the University College of Wales. Oxford (The Clarendon Press); pp. 220: 12s. 6d. net.

OLD Roman religion was a poor thing at best; its importance lies in the fact that, such as it was, it constituted the basis of indigenous cult and rite of the people who became a great imperial power in the world. One of the principal sources of our information on this exceedingly unspiritual complex of custom is the Greek treatise of Plutarch of Chæronea—known as the *Roman Questions* and forming part of his famous collection of tractates called *Moralia*. This antiquarian essay was written at the end of the first century A.D.; and Plutarch, as was his wont, tried to find deeper meanings in primitive rites and customs than modern anthropology and the present mood of the comparative science of religion will tolerate. Professor Rose admits that Plutarch was in general a man of sane and sober disposition, "a man of considerable learning and no little ingenuity, with an extensive if not profound knowledge of history, and some acquantance with the science of the day." Nevertheless his tendency to seek for undermeanings and an allegorical interpretation of ritual prescriptions and his 'rationalizing' of the primitive led him into many

errors from which we to-day are saved by our greater knowledge. This is of course true to some if not a large extent; but we think that Professor Rose is somewhat too hard on Plutarch, who, when dealing with the higher aspects of some of the religions of antiquity, is one of the most suggestive guides we have from the past. If we had the works of a dozen Plutarchs preserved to us we should be immeasurably the richer in our knowledge of that side of the cult of Græco-Roman antiquity which appealed to the more cultured of their adherents. Professor Rose is then severe on Plutarch because he is too symbolic and not sufficiently anthropological in the present fashion of that infant science; and yet Plutarch is not by any means less intelligent than many modern writers who have done the same kind of thing. This is made clear at the end of the chapter on 'Plutarch's Attitude to Religion,' where his most recent commentator writes (p. 63):

"These . . . are the factors which led ancient speculation astray; assumption of the presence of dogma in ancient religion, undue extension of the scope of commemorative and mimetic rites, false analogy applied to the interpretation of tabus and other formulæ; together with the vague idea that all nations worshipped about the same gods, *i.e.* had the lofty and developed polytheism with which the writers were themselves familiar. Add to this a bad historical method and an infantile philology, and the contents of the QR and many more such works are explained without supposing the natural intelligence of their learned authors to have been any less than that of much later writers who have seen everywhere the sun-myths, symbolism, or dogmatism which they supposed to be the basis of early cults."

But we have not yet got quite the right perspective even to-day, and continually fresh information is turning up to show us that the 'primitive' is frequently not so primitive as we supposed. We doubt, however, that much will ever be done in this respect for Roman religion. Professor Rose's work is a thoroughly scholarly production and the turning out of it is, as usual, a credit to the famous Clarendon Press.

Die Gnosis.

Von Hans Leisegang. Leipzig (Alfred Kroner); pp. v + 404; 3M.

WITHIN less than 400 closely-printed, though small pages, Dr. Leisegang has performed a task for which we owe him a sincere debt of gratitude. So much has been and is being written on

Gnosis and Gnosticism, that an authoritative and clear exposition of principles and systems is a real contribution to our knowledge. Much confusion has been created by loose thinking and arbitrary interpretation of what are called Gnostic speculations. Here we have now in a compact form an excellent guide in that maze of sects of which Epiphanius enumerates no less than sixty. It is not an easy matter to find one's one way through the innumerable intricacies of abstract speculations and systems, which often differ only in minute details, and yet claim a separate name for themselves. Dr. Leisegang gives us here in the first place a comprehensive synthetical outline of those principles which most of the prominent sects have in common. It is lucid and full. He traces the origin of Gnosis to the endeavour to press Oriental matter into Greek form, and by such an operation to gather within that fold everything, be its origin whatever it may, which contributed to justify the fundamental principle which ultimately rests on Greek philosophical speculation. Thus the gods and myths become denationalized, and are used for an alien purpose after being subjected to an allegorical interpretation. Dr. Leisegang then, instead of giving us a mere superficial description of most, if not all, the systems mentioned by Epiphanius, which would have been a very unsatisfactory proceeding, has selected the most important ten for a more comprehensive treatment, which consists in giving, in an excellent translation, all the principal documents concerning each of these sects, as far as they have come down in the old writings. Not satisfied with this, he adds, whenever necessary, a brief commentary explaining the often obscure forms of expression or the obvious mistakes made by the authors of these refutations. They were the enemies of the Gnostics, and either really misunderstood their antagonists, or did not scruple in the heat of their polemics to misrepresent them. The Gnostics selected are Simon Magus, the Ophites, the Barbelo-Gnostics, the Basileidians, the Karpokratians, Markion, Valentinus, Ptolemaios, Markos, and finally the Pistis Sophia,—a truly representative gathering. At the end the author has appended an index of the Gnostic technical terms, with an interpretation. Altogether, a most commendable publication. A translation into English would be highly desirable. The book is beautifully printed, handsomely bound and ridiculously cheap.

M. GASTER.

Old Testament Legends.

From a Greek Poem on Genesis and Exodus, by Georgios Chumnos. By F. H. Marshall. With 28 Illustrations. Cambridge University Press; pp. 116; 7s. 6d. net.

It was the merit of Krumbacher to have drawn forcible attention to the importance which the Byzantine literature has for a proper understanding of the civilization of the West. Innumerable threads lead from Byzantium to the West of Europe. Of far greater importance, however, has that literature been for the peoples of the Balkans and the neighbouring countries. Mediæval and modern Greek literature was the channel through which the East transferred its treasures to these nations; above all, it was the mass of legendary matter which played such a decisive *rôle* in the so-called heretical movements which flourished in that part of Europe and were thence carried to the other nations. These heretics were known under the names of Bogomiles, Cathars, Albigenses, etc. To this very day the minds of these peoples are filled with these legends, notably the Biblical ones, and the whole popular literature bears eloquent testimony to the paramount influence exercised by these Greek Biblical legends. It was thus a very happy thought on the part of Mr. Marshall to make us acquainted with one of the later off-shoots of this remarkable literature. He discovered in the British Museum a very interesting versification of the Biblical legends, made by a certain Chumnos of Crete towards the end of the 15th century; the MS. is moreover fully illustrated. Mr. Marshall has now published about one-third of the whole poem, containing a collection of legends from Adam down to the death of Moses.

The chief interest for the editor lay in the text itself, written in the so-called vulgar or modern Greek; and its value from a dialectic and philological point of view is shown also in the Glossary and Notes which accompany the text. He has not, however, ignored its intrinsic value as a contribution to the history of the Biblical legends and their dissemination. The chief source, which he at once recognized, is, of course, the Palæa, published by Vassiliev, and the historiated Bible, found in almost contemporary Slavonic MSS., especially in Russia. There is, however, one literature which Mr. Marshall has passed over in silence. I refer to the Rumanian, which forms a connecting link between South and North. A glance at my history of the Rumanian Folk-Lore

and other publications, would have satisfied Mr. Marshall of the existence of precisely all these legends in Rumanian Hronograf, and other MSS. of a mixed character, including also the 'Plaint of Adam.' Herein lies, to my mind, from a psychological point of view, the great merit of this publication. It shows the continued vitality and popularity of this legendary matter, in prose and in verse, which has so much contributed to mould the mind of these nations, and to enrich their imagination. All who are interested in this peculiar phase of civilization, and in the literary history of the nations in South-East Europe, will feel deeply grateful to Mr. Marshall for his excellent book, for he has not only published the Greek Text, but he has made the contents available to the general reader by an English metrical translation. It is occasionally free, but it is because of this the more readable, and is, on the whole, a faithful rendering of the original. Twenty-eight full-page copies of the original illustrations, in which the persons appear in contemporary costume, give a special piquancy to this edition. The Cambridge University Press must be thanked for the beautiful typographical execution.

M. GASTER.

THE TRIUMPH OF UGLINESS.

And Other Essays. By Arthur Brodrick Bullock, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. London (Daniel); pp. 76; 3s. 6d. net.

THIS is a terrific indictment of our modern civilization, written with a merciless pen and laying on the lash of scorn and loathing with both hands. Much of it is, unfortunately, only too true, if we allow ourselves so to focus our attention. The mass of mankind is busy in the pursuit of phantoms, driven by the mad lust of egoism, which Mr. Bullock will have it is the 'original sin.' In all around are change and decay; yet the ephemeral idols are throned high above eternal reality in the hearts of well-nigh all men. Our essayist would thus recall his readers to the selfless love of the Christ, to the grandiose ideal of the self-conscious spirit in man that transcends egoism, and to such practices of the way of truth as the endeavour to see the self in all things and all things in the self. 'The Triumph of Ugliness' prefaces the little volume; thereafter follows 'The Pursuit of Phantoms,' and of them Mr. Bullock selects especially for animadversion those of Sexual Pleasure, Power, Theology, Liberty and Happiness.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST IN PHOTOGRAPHIC REPRODUCTION.

Vol. X. Pt. I. The Dhammapada: A Collection of Verses, being one of the Canonical Books of the Buddhists. Translated from the Pâli by F. Max Müller. Second edition, revised, 1898.

Pt. II. The Sutta-Nipâta: A Collection of Discourses, being one of the Canonical Books of the Buddhists. Translated from the Pâli by V. Fausböll. Second edition, revised, 1898.

Vol. XXXV. The Questions of King Melinda. Translated from the Pâli by T. W. Rhys Davids. First edition, 1890.

Oxford University Press: Vol. X., Pt. I., pp. lxiii+98. Pt. II., pp. xvii+212, 10s. 6d. net; Vol. XXXV., pp. xlviii. +320, 15s. net.

THESE renowned Buddhist classics, translated by three of the most famous pioneers of Pâli studies, are excellently reproduced in photographic process by the Muston Company. They are, however, reproduced simply; there is not a word of fresh matter. This is to be regretted. For, though all three versions are good, they might very well have been revised with the help of the enormously extended range of vocabulary and far greater nicety of meaning of technical terms now at the disposal of scholars in the new Pâli dictionary, which owes so much to the labours of the late Professor T. W. Rhys Davids himself. And even if this could not have been arranged for, then, at least, the Introductions should have been supplemented by reviews of the work done on the several documents during the past five-and-twenty years. Buddhism, owing to the special character of its religious genius, is perhaps the most helpful study of all the great faiths of the world to bring into a just perspective the over-stressed moral superiority of exclusive monotheism, and so make us truly humanistic and catholic in our general religious outlook. As our knowledge of the main principles and many phases of this vast world-religion improves,—and it is improving rapidly, so that year by year numbers of misconceptions or inadequate statements are being corrected,—it is above all things necessary for the student to be supplied with continually revised versions of its most important canonical documents.

ORPHISCH-DIONYSISCHE MYSTERIEN-GEDANKEN IN DER CHRISTLICHEN ANTIKE.

Von Robert Eisler. Leipzig (Teubner); pp. 424; R.-M. 25.

IN this richly documented and lavishly illustrated volume our esteemed colleague Dr. Robert Eisler finds himself, so to speak, on his native heath, striding along without the obstacles so frequently put in his way by an editor, like ourselves, economic of space as to notes and learned apparatus. One would have thought that, after producing the solid volume *Orpheus the Fisher* in English, and depositing in the British Museum the MS. of a second volume on the same theme, our encyclopædic friend, who is so refreshingly fertile in clearing up old puzzles and starting new hypotheses, would have been content to rest from his Orphic labours. Not a bit of it! He is once more as amazingly detailed as ever, and brings to bear his vast equipment of linguistics, and extraordinary knowledge of the most recent work done by specialists, to elucidate the influence of the thought-worlds developed by the Orphic and Dionysian Mystery-tradition on Christian antiquity. This he does from a new point of view. The literary side is of course not neglected, far from it; but the main stress is laid on antiquities, so that we have here gathered together a vast amount of recondite information scattered in learned publications which are not easily procurable, and not only collected but for the most part given greater precision and often most skilfully and suggestively interpreted. There are 41 sections in the treatise dealing with themes of very great interest for all lovers of early Christian art and origins, and no less than 146 illustrations. It is a work that owes its value to details heaped on details, whose cumulative weight makes a very considerable impression. To review it adequately would require a team of specialists. Our only general criticism is that it would have been more helpful if Dr. Eisler had added a conclusion, saying in brief what he had set out to accomplish; he has proved many things, but he has not given us a conspectus of his main undertaking. Dr. Eisler has been fortunate in gaining the patronage of the famous Bibliothek Warburg, whose patron and authorities were so struck by a lecture by our author on the subject, that they invited him to work out his ideas in detail, and have published them in a special volume of their *Vorträge*. The volume is excellently published by Messrs. Teubner.

A Chinese Mirror.

Being Reflections of the Reality behind Appearance. By Florence Ayscough, Hon. Member, North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society. With Drawings by Lucille Douglass. London (Jonathan Cape); pp. 464; 21s. net.

ALREADY in her *Fir-Flower Tablets* Mrs. Ayscough, in collaboration with the late Amy Lowell, has given us a taste of her quality in producing a charming volume of verse from Chinese originals. *A Chinese Mirror* is for the most part in prose, but much that is poetical is conveyed by what is regarded as the more pedestrian pen-vehicle. As, in noticing her former work, we were grateful to Mrs. Ayscough for giving us an insight into the mysteries of Chinese poetry, so now we are thankful to her for permitting us to enter into the atmosphere of much that is quaint, yet fair and delicate, in Chinese thought and feeling. No little that is redolent of an ancient culture far removed from our own, yet in some respects of finer blending, is thus made accessible to us by one who has lived many years in China, and lived those years sympathetically and intelligently. And that is by no means a common characteristic of those whom the cultured Chinese call impolitely, but frequently by no means without justification, 'foreign devils.' We have read these reminiscences and reflections of 'Love-Poetry-Mother,' as her dignified Chinese instructor, Mr. 'Cultivator-of-Bamboos,' calls Mrs. Ayscough, with great pleasure, and doubt not that many others will be charmed with them. There are numerous translations of prose and verse, testifying not only to a book-knowledge of Chinese, but of a capacity to enter understandingly into the genius of a very difficult tongue for westerners. The volume is artistically got up, and embellished with a wealth of very pleasing sketches and tail-pieces by Miss Lucille Douglass.

Discrimina Peregrinationis.

By C. T. Harley Walker. Oxford (Blackwell); pp. 106; 7s. 6d. net.

THE essays comprised in this little volume are designed, as we learn from the preface, to deal with certain problems confronting the Church at the present time. The first and longest is an analysis of the tenets of the Swedish philosopher Vitalis Norström, especially in their relation to religion. It is an interesting

presentment of a view that is based on personality, and is at once idealist, critical and concrete. We are warned not to expect a well-rounded-off statement of religious philosophy, as Norström's ideas are not always expressed in strict logical sequence, and broad outlines rather than details are given. He is the sworn foe of intellectualism, and describes his own position as that of a transcendental pragmatist. Assigning great importance to individuality, he opposes the present system of mass culture, which loses grip on the inner spiritual reality of existence. His approach to religion is by inward experience rather than intellectual analysis. "My relation to God," he says in one of his letters, "has been and is so personal, so just simply a relation between us both, so to speak, that also in its deepest root, it ought only to be known by Him and me." Yet, on another occasion, to the same friend, he writes: "Only the one eternal, harmonious, universal life . . . . wherein there is no longer any room for contrast between persons but one is all and all is one, . . . can possess a meaning for me." He establishes religion on a wide basis, distinguishing its three aspects, the psychological, the social-historical and the transcendental. It will be seen that Norström's philosophy can neither be called a system, nor suffer a label. It seems to be characterized spiritually, rather than by any outward form. And this is perhaps in itself sufficient justification for the writer's claim that British philosophers and theologians have something to learn from him. Another essay deals with the need of emphasizing the vital side of religion and of reverting to the great fundamental principles held by the Church before the cleavages took place; while a third considers the problem of miracles, and suggests a solution through a combination of historical enquiry and spiritual discernment.

S. E. HALL.

LIFE AFTER DEATH IN OCEANIA AND THE MALAY ARCHIPELAGO.

By Rosalind Ross, B.Sc. Oxon. London (Oxford University Press); pp. 247; 14s. net.

RECENTLY we have had from Sir James G. Frazer three volumes on the same subject as is here treated by Miss Ross in smaller compass and over a more limited area. The method followed by Miss Ross, however, is very different from that of the veteran 'Golden Bough' encyclopædist. Sir James has treated his subject in watertight compartments, tribe by tribe, so that there is

much overlapping and repetition. Miss Ross orders her matter under general headings, and offers us a series of comparative surveys. This means that the works of the many authorities referred to have been carefully analysed, and no generalization is allowed to appear without qualification. There is nothing original in any view put forward, but all prior views are referred to and listed; so all the information is there and well-ordered. The volume is indeed a very well-labelled collection of facts and fancies, and the authoress is very careful to observe all the etiquette incumbent on one who puts forward a scientific thesis—a sort of *thèse pour le doctorat*, to win the benediction of official approval. Though the documentation of the volume is very full, we are surprised to find no reference to Mr. Macmillan Browne's recent study of Easter Island called *The Mystery of the Pacific;* but, above all, when Maori custom and belief are dealt with, we regret to find Miss Ross quoting from erroneous data, now entirely superseded by Mr. S. Percy Smith's invaluable translation of the authoritative secret traditions of the Maoris in his two volumes entitled *The Whare-Wānanga or Maori House of Learning* (1913, 1915). Of these, readers of THE QUEST at any rate have now some knowledge, even if professional anthropologists neglect what is the most important source of information we possess touching Polynesian antiquities.

WHAT JESUS READ.

His Dependence and Independence. By the Rev. Thomas Walker, D.D. (Lond.), Author of 'The Teaching of Jesus and the Jewish Teaching of his Age.' London (Allen & Unwin); pp. 125; 4s. 6d. net.

THIS is a more popular and generally readable summary of Dr. Walker's technical, larger study of the same exceedingly important theme. Many works of great learning have been written both by Jewish and Christian scholars on this involved and difficult question, in which the former naturally stress the element of dependence and the latter as naturally that of independence. The author prays that his work "may serve in some small way to bring the more liberally disposed of the Jewish church and the more liberally disposed of the Christian church to see more clearly where their point of contact with one another lies, and where is their real point of departure from one another." This is a good intent; and assuredly the genuinely liberal-minded on both sides

are getting closer together on many points. Fundamentally, however, there must remain a chasm between the two, otherwise the labels of 'Jewish' and 'Christian' would be evacuated of their meaning. On the whole, though we think that all attempts of this kind are educationally helpful (for the general public continues in the profoundest ignorance of even the elements of the problem), we should think that with regard to fundamentals the instructed Jewish reader will not be able to escape from feeling that Dr. Walker's book pays more attention to edification and apology than to the untinctured setting forth of the literary facts. The most liberal-minded Jews will not be averse from accepting Jesus as a prophet; but even the most liberal-minded Christians, somehow or other, demand more than this; while the vast mass of the faith claims absolute Godhead for him, and this to the Jew is the contradiction of all he holds most true of Deity.

THE MAJJIMA NIKĀYA.

The First Fifty Discourses from the Collection of the Medium-length Discourses of Gotama the Buddha. Freely rendered and Abridged from the Pâli, by Bhikkhu Sīlācāra. Second edition. München-Neubiberg (Oskar Schloss Verlag); pp. 317.

THIS is a very well printed and well got up volume with only occasional errors. Bikkhu Sīlācāra, who is Scots by birth, and has spent long years, especially in Burmah, following the rule of the Order, has done his task *con amore*. The result is a pleasure to read, and though the rendering is free, it by no means departs from the sense of the original. The rendering of the technical terms is generally felicitous, and shows that the translator has entered deeply into the spirit of the original. To the Western reader, the too frequent repetitions of long sequences of phrasing in the Suttas cannot but be wearisome. Doubtless this was to some extent necessary owing to the exigencies of oral tradition in the first instance; but earlier and contemporaneous Indian instances show nothing like the peculiar fondness of Buddhist exposition for reiteration. When the oral tradition came to be written down, much of this might have been cut out with advantage. Therefore Bikkhu Sīlācāra is to be commended for his abridgment; our only complaint is that he has not made a sufficiently clean job of it. It could very well have been still further pruned.

The Mystical State.

Auguste Saudreau, Canon of Angers, translated by D. M. B. London (Burns, Oates & Washbourne); pp. xvi. + 204; 6s. net.

The importance of Canon Saudreau's works lies chiefly in the criticisms and corrections they afford of Fr. Poulain's well-known *Graces of Interior Prayer*. Saudreau is concerned to vindicate the capacity of the ordinary individual to embark upon contemplative prayer without over-long discipline in discursive meditation. It is a salutary protest, necessary age by age. Saudreau, relying largely on S. Teresa and S. John of the Cross, maintains that the mystical state is an eminent grace but not an extraordinary favour. The argument and evidence may be commended to Dr. Thouless.

Saudreau's book is not so fully documented as Poulain's, nor is it arranged in as orderly a fashion, but it is full of good points on difficult matters, and his frequent opposition to Poulain is refreshing. The analogy (note, p. 160) of climbing, flying, and effortless levitation of a spiritualized body with three modes of the operations of grace—ascetic, mystic and angelic—is, however, a little risky. The climber gets more out of his toilsome ascent than does he who too easily and without effort attains: cp. Paracelsus and Aprile in Browning's poem.

One wishes that the psychology of Catholic writers could occasionally be brought into line with or take note of the best non-Catholic psychology. On page 176 eleven 'passions' are enumerated. A page or two of Shand makes it impossible to accept Saudreau's bald catalogue. A. A. Cock.

From the Other Side.

Talks of a Dead Son with his Father. By J. H. D. Miller. With Illustrations. With a Foreword by Sir A. Conan Doyle. London (Williams & Norgate); pp. 110; 3s. 6d. net.

This is the account of a young officer killed in the War and his entirely successful attempt to convince a sceptical parent of his continued identity, chiefly through a private sensitive who took no money for his self-sacrificing services. We agree with Sir Arthur Conan Doyle that the case "is about the most complete and convincing of any which have reached me [us]," and are glad to commend it to students. The record includes a 'psychic photograph' that is extremely well evidenced.

The Conference of the Birds.

A Súfí Allegory. Being an Abridged Version of Farid-ud-Dín Attár's 'Mantiq-ut-Tayr.' By R. P. Mansani, M.A. London (Oxford University Press); pp. 118; 6s. net.

We have no English version of this fine allegory of the Persian poet Muhammad ibn Farid-ud-Dín Attár, who was born 1119/20 A.D. and lived to the ripe age of 114 years. Indeed the only excerpt from Attár's masterpiece in English is an extract dealing with 'The Seven Valleys,' which appeared in 1910 in our old friend J. M. Watkins' excellent little series *The Porch*. Mr. Mansani now adds to our knowledge by giving us a useful summary of the whole poem, with some passages of translation, and prefaces it with a quite good 'Introductory Note on Persian Mysticism' (pp. 1-46). In this he makes judicious use of the works of E. R. Whinfield and especially of those of Dr. R. W. Nicholson, to whom all lovers of Súfism owe so great a debt. It is a sublime theme and a high quest, and Mr. Mansani has entered into the spirit of it and turned out a very pleasing volume. Our only hesitation is when we find the term 'theosophy' in the classic sense, as applied to Súfism by Nicholson, occasionally tinctured with an expression of Neo-theosophy.

John Tauler.

Meditations on the Life and Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Translated by A. P. Cruikshank, D.D. London (Burns, Oates & Washbourne); pp. xii. + 345; 7s. 6d.

Tauler's date is 1300-1361; Suso was born in 1300, and Thomas à Kempis lived from 1380-1471. It seems likely that Tauler's writings on mystical theology were known at Deventer; but the present treatise cannot with certainty be ascribed to Tauler, and Fr. Denifle pronounces against it. Souls nurtured on the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius will find many meditations in this volume helpful in promoting 'composition of place.' The language of devotion varies from age to age, from place to place. This volume is more congenial to the modern spirit than the volume of devotions to the Sacred Heart to be noticed elsewhere in our pages.

Albert A. Cock.

The Way of the South Wind.

By G. D. Martineau. Author of 'Old Sussex.' Steyning (Vine Press); pp. 25; 3s. 6d. net.

The author of the verses published under this general title appears to belong to that class of poets whose inspiration is mainly derived from a special subject. He is clearly a poet of Sussex, and the verses in this slender volume that deal with the Sussex folk and their ways have a spontaneity and vividness which distinguish them from those concerned with other subjects. 'The Simple Song,' addressed to the Downs, but not, like most of the others, in the speech of a son of the soil, gives charming expression to the influence of the 'quiet hills' as felt by a townsman. One of the strongest of the Sussex poems is the following brief but dramatic 'Storm off Rye.'

"There's gulls a-circlin' by the shore
That scream'n swoop'n prey'n soar:
There's more wind blowin'.
Them rollers 'uv a snow-white crest,
An' wind's arisin' in the west;
There's black clouds showin'.

"There's purty cert'n storm to-night—
Surelye—but Jim 'ull be all right
(Though west wind's blowin').
There's rockets now from off the coast . . .
Now don't be looking like a ghost . . .
The life-boat's goin'."

S. E. Hall.

The Imitation of Christ.

In Richard Whytford's Translation. The Orchard Books. London (Burns, Oates & Washbourne); pp. xxv. + 316; 5s.

It were an impertinence to 'review' 'Thomas à Kempis.' Even to estimate his significance in the development of the interior life, and to account for his influence upon wayward as well as upon orthodox souls in our own times, requires courage and a large heart. And to set on record what he means privately to the writer is to violate his own rule of silence even more culpably

than did Lionel Johnson. But we must record our gratitude to the editor, Dom Roger Hudleston of Downside, and to the publishers for bringing out so excellent an edition, in striking contrast to the barbarous one published some years ago in the Unit Library. That edition was, however, notable for an illuminating essay by the late George Tyrrell; and as it received the *imprimatur* at the time, the present publishers might consider adding it if possible in the next edition of Whytford's translation. Some of the loveliest English rendering is to be found in Book iv. c. 2, on the Blessed Sacrament: the apostrophe "*Ecce tu Sanctus Sanctorum et ego sordes peccatorum*" is a most moving passage in Whytford's English.

ALBERT A. COCK.

FUNDAMENTAL ENDS OF LIFE.

By Rufus M. Jones, Litt.D., LL.D. London (Macmillan); pp. 144; 6s. net.

DR. RUFUS JONES here gives us an inspiring call to put first things first. His *Fundamental Ends of Life* deals with Life as contrasted with mere living. He urges us "*nec propter vitam vivendi perdere causas*" with wealth of argument and real eloquence.

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He is evidently as much a disciple of Plato's as is the Dean of St. Paul's, whilst to a great extent enrolling himself under the standard of Kant, whose teaching of the Categorical Imperative he embraces. It is natural therefore that he should favour the theories of Vaihinger and the 'As If' philosophy. He does however full justice to the practicality of the mystics. In his closing chapter he gives a clear statement of the meaning of the term 'values,' emphasizing the fact that Emotion has to be reckoned with as well as Intellect; that the significance and interpretation of things transcend the simple collation of facts. He manifests the optimistic spirit of one who believes that "what ought to be must be."

Dr. Jones supplies a wholesome corrective to the *Zeitgeist* with its absorption in petty details, and leads us to the great heart of the World—God, as he himself has found Him.

W. M. WESTON.

Atlantis in America.

By Lewis Spence, Author of 'The Problem of Atlantis,' etc. London (Benn); pp. 213; 10s. 6d. net.

In this volume Mr. Spence continues his studies in what we may call 'Atlantica.' He is here chiefly concerned with the myths and folk-tales of the indigenous races and tribes of the two Americas, and gathers together much of interest, part of which he thinks points to the memory of an ancestry deriving from the last subsiding land of the lost 'Atlantis-island' of Platonic fame. His survey is a wide one and shows signs of extensive reading in many other directions besides the one indicated. Among other things he argues vigorously against the Pan-egyptian theory and with reason. We could have wished, however, that he had been in a number of cases more detailed in his references, giving the page as well as the more general indications. As he pursues his studies our author becomes himself more and more convinced that there is history of some kind underlying the romantic account of the Platonic 'Atlanticum,' that it is *logos* as well as *mythos*, as Plutarch would have said.

Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae.

Collegit Theodor Hopfner. Bonn (Marcus und Weber); Parts 1-4, pp. 700; £1 1s.

As a continuation of Clemen's Classic Sources of Persian Religion, which I reviewed in The Quest two years ago, Prof. Hopfner has now given us a complete collection of the Greek and Latin Sources concerning Egyptian Religion. I am glad to say that not only are these sources of greater importance than those collected in the first fasciculus, since Egypt has no canonical sacred book of its own, but also Prof. Hopfner's work is far superior in scholarship, accuracy and completeness to that of Clemen. While it was easy to point out serious omissions in Clemen, I defy anybody to find a text which has escaped the knowledge of Hopfner. A fifth part, with indices, etc., is to follow, when we may then discuss some of these interesting texts.

R. Eisler.

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THE QUEST

'THE QUEST'—OLD AND NEW: RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT.

RETROSPECT.

THE present number ends the Old Series of THE QUEST. To mark distinctly the interval, or break, between the Old and the New Series, which will begin with the October number of this year, the first issue of Vol. XVIII., the July number will not appear. Further reference to this will be made later on.

As this April number synchronizes with an important moment, or critical turning-point, in the fortunes both of The Quest Society and of The Quest Quarterly, it will not be inopportune very briefly to review the past and to say a word or two about the future.

MY ONE-TIME MEMBERSHIP OF THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

IT is well-known by my old friends that for twenty-five years I was a member of the Theosophical Society. For a score of those years I was at the very centre of the movement, and acquainted from within with its two founders, its history and fortunes, better perhaps than anyone now living. I joined the Society in 1884, imme-

diately on coming down from Cambridge. In 1889 I gave up my profession of teaching, and went to work with Yelena Petrovna Blavatskaia (generally known as Mme. Blavatsky). For the last three years of her life I was her private secretary, and in closest intimacy with her. I was sub-editor of her monthly magazine, which with her habitual *taquinerie*, and the better *pour épater les bourgeois*, she had christened *Lucifer*. After her departure from this troubled scene of her labours, and when I became editor, I abandoned this eccentric pose, and renamed the monthly *The Theosophical Review*. This publication ceased when I left the Society in Feb., 1909. Moreover I edited or re-edited many of H. P. Blavatsky's writings, and I was also among other things General Secretary for Europe, and did no little to start or nurse the beginnings of the Theosophical movement on the Continent.

I have to be very skeleton-like in this bare recital, even though I am not engaged in writing the memoirs of the 'Theosophical' quarter-century of my life, but dealing with one episode only. Were I to write those memoirs, which I have no present intention of doing, there would be many surprises for the later and ignorant composition of the Neo-theosophical movement; and those surprises, I fear, would often be anything but pleasant reading for them. This much, however, I would say about H. P. B., as we called her; and it is an opinion based upon five years of friendship and on three years of daily personal intercourse with her. Whatever else Yelena Petrovna was (and God knows her imperfections were many, though at the same time some few of the features of her very complex and mixed character were without prejudice 'great'), H. P. Blavatsky was not, within my experience at any rate, the

vulgar trickster and charlatan of hostile popular legend. I do not of course know what happened when I was not there; but then nearly all her accusers are equally in the same boat. When I first went to her to work permanently, I was a young man of whom she practically knew nothing, except that from May, 1887, when she returned to England for the last time, I spent no little of my holidays in visits to Maycot, Upper Norwood and to 17, Lansdowne Road, Bayswater. Nevertheless, with childlike confidence, and with one of those large and eccentric gestures of hers, she handed over to me at once the keys of her desk and bookcases and tossed over, unopened, her voluminous correspondence, bidding me answer it as best I might (and 'be d—d'), as she wanted all her time for writing her articles and books. It was all very foolish and imprudent; but at any rate it was assuredly not the act of one who was popularly supposed to be carrying on an elaborate fraud with numerous confederates. This does not mean to say that I approve otherwise of her and her ways by any means. I retain a great personal affection for her bohemian and racy personality; but much she wrote I know to be very inaccurate, to say the least of it; while her whole outlook on life was that of an 'occultist'—a view I now hold most firmly to be fundamentally false. She was the very last person to found a religious movement; and let us not forget that the name first chosen for what became afterwards known as 'The Theosophical Society,' was 'The Miracle Club.' The first choice was assuredly the more appropriate, as history has shown. The chief cause of this was that H. P. Blavatsky was undoubtedly a powerful medium.

But to hurry on, and be as brief as possible.

A Miserable Episode.

I now come to the main episode to which I am constrained to refer, though with very great repugnance, —a matter on which I have kept silence now for 18 years. But it is necessary to put on honest record for historical purposes the bare facts of the matter; for the truth will never be elicited from the present officials of the Neo-theosophical movement.

Charles W. Leadbeater had been a curate in the Church of England. In 1884 he went out to Adyar, Madras, the General Headquarters of the Theosophical Society, to devote himself to the 'cause.' Shortly after, he left for Ceylon, and there publicly professed himself a Buddhist, taking '*pansil*,' or the 'five vows' of the layman. Leadbeater returned to England in 1890, and for a time took up tutoring. After the death of Mme. Blavatsky in 1891, and when, later on, Mrs. Besant fell a willing victim to Leadbeater's insidious influence (for he was somewhat of a psychic—and that in Neo-theosophic circles spells 'adept' instead of simply 'medium' as elsewhere), he gradually began to acquire among the rank and file of the Theosophical faithful the position of the most exalted 'seer' of the movement; though as a matter of fact all his notions of things spiritual were, and have remained, very material. Of genuine mysticism and spiritual exaltation he knew not the first word. He travelled extensively in Europe and the U.S.A., and gained great influence over many.

At the beginning of 1906 grave charges were brought against Leadbeater by several scandalized mothers in the U.S.A., whose young sons had been taught a certain practice by this 'arhat.'

(I refrain from details, as this sketch is a bare historical outline of generalities. But as a matter of fact, the whole case, in spite of its unsuitability for public discussion, was ventilated *ad nauseam* at the time in all the Theosophical publications. It has also, owing to a number of other later developments, appeared from time to time in thousands of newspapers throughout the world. In certain libel actions, moreover, brought by the Theosophical community at Adyar against *The Hindu*, the most prominent native English newspaper in the south of India, the whole documents of the case were brought into court, and Leadbeater himself had to appear. The plaintiffs lost all their cases, and the strictures of the court on Leadbeater were severe. The Indian press for weeks and months was agog with it. In brief, there is no necessity to give precision to what is so notorious.)

The scandal was great, the subject was unsavoury, and naturally the mothers shrank from publicity. They, therefore, appealed to Mrs. Besant, who was then the autocratic head of a secret organization in the Theosophical Society, known as 'The Esoteric Section' or 'Eastern School.'

This had been started by Mme. Blavatsky in about 1890. She, however, had not done this willingly, but had been over-persuaded by some of her most enthusiastic and credulous followers. She herself really disliked the idea. And in this her intuition had been right; for this Section speedily developed into a great danger and became the inner rot to the whole movement, seeing that it was based on blind obedience to (so-called) 'esoteric orders.' In the hands of Annie Besant, later on, this 'Esoteric' cabal became a camouflaged political caucus, 'pulling' every crisis in the Society from within to suit A. B.'s own views and purposes.

When this grave plaint against Leadbeater arrived in India, Mrs. Besant was at Benares, where, as ill chance would have it, Leadbeater himself also happened

to be. With him at her elbow, Mrs. Besant failed conspicuously and egregiously in her plain duty: utterly ignoring the facts, she rejected the bitter cry of the mothers, treating them with great harshness and upbraiding them, as though it was they who had committed a grave offence by indicting her 'brother-initiate,' instead of the offence being his.

Failing thus to get any redress privately, the aggrieved mothers, at the beginning of May, 1906, brought their plaint publicly before Colonel H. S. Olcott, the President-Founder of the Society, who happened to be then in London. A Judicial Committee was at once convened; and Leadbeater, who was staying at Taormina (of all places in the world!) was summoned to appear. The evidence was clear and incontrovertible, and Leadbeater's resignation from the Theosophical Society was accepted to close the matter.

The True Reason of the Exodus of Upwards of Seven Hundred Members of the British Section from the Theosophical Society.

Leadbeater was now out of the Society, and common sense and decent feeling might well have allowed this very unpalatable episode to sink into oblivion. But this was not to be. Leadbeater's 'seership' was too valuable an asset to the 'occultists,' who sought in devious ways to excuse his sex-teachings. They could not afford to let him disappear.

On Feb. 17, 1907, the President-Founder, Colonel H. S. Olcott, died. In considering previously this some-time necessary future event, those of us who were chiefly interested in the fortunes of the Society, had always agreed that in no case could the private Headship of the Esoteric Section, which was founded

entirely on a purely dogmatic basis, and the public Presidential office of a Society with a professedly entirely open and undogmatic platform be combined in the same person. This ruled out Mrs. Besant from the future presidency. The difficulty was to find a fit candidate to succeed Olcott. The post was offered to myself; but I refused. I did not care for a life of continual travelling and organization, and for the task of trying to follow in the footsteps of the somewhat American Barnum-like activities of my old friend H. S. O. I much preferred continuing my studies, editing, writing books and lecturing; and I said so. Mrs. Besant, whose memory was always conveniently short when there was any opportunity of extending her position and exalting herself, allowed herself to be nominated by some vociferous followers. By the team-work of the E.S. under her orders throughout the Theosophical world she was duly elected. I opposed her election publicly.

In May of 1908 an entirely new phase of the Leadbeater scandal cropped up. A certain amazing Dr. Weller van Hook, the General Secretary of the American Section (U.S.A), wrote an Open Letter to his Section. In it he defended Leadbeater's 'theories' as to boys; said he (L.) was a pioneer of great insight in such matters, and the only man who had so far had the courage really to tackle the sex-problem! Privately, the said Weller van Hook let it be understood far and wide that this egregious and pernicious Epistle had been dictated to him by a Theosophical Master or Mahātmā! The soberer, saner and more decent members of the British Section, on reading this shocking effusion, were naturally highly scandalized at such a public outrage on the good name of the Society.

At the Annual British Convention in July, accordingly, we carried a resolution, in the face of the fanatical opposition of the Besant-Leadbeaterites, requesting the President and General Council of the Theosophical Society, the highest court of official appeal, to put an end once for all to this intolerable scandal in our midst,—namely, the *public advocacy* of Leadbeater's wrong teachings to young boys. The amazing answer we received in due course to our appeal was that the President and Council, after full deliberation, "saw no reason why Mr. Leadbeater should not be restored to membership." Whereupon upwards of 700 of us shook off the dust of our feet against these bemused 'occultists,' and left the Neo-theosophic Society. Let it be here stated deliberately, that by this unmoral answer of the most authoritative official body of the International Theosophical Society, the Council stood condemned publicly out of its own mouth as being tainted to the core, untrue to its professions and principles, and unworthy of the confidence of all self-respecting, clean-minded and honest men and women.

THE FOUNDING OF 'THE QUEST' AND OF 'THE QUEST SOCIETY.'

IT might have been expected that these 700 odd *révoltés* would have at once united together on their exodus for some common course of action. But it fell out otherwise. Personally, I was now utterly disgusted with the Theosophical Society, its innumerable dogmatic assertions, its crooked methods and reprehensible proceedings. I had never, even while a member, preached the Mahātmā-gospel of H. P. Blavatsky, or propagandized Neo-theosophy and its

revelations. I had believed that 'theosophy' proper meant the wisdom-element[1] in the great religions and philosophies of the world. This far-flung and varied 'wisdom' I had intensively studied wherever I could find it, and had by now written no little on the subject. When, then, in utter disgust I left a movement I had striven for years, within my small measure of ability, to keep straight and clean, if it were in any way possible,—though, as far as the Society was concerned, I had to admit complete failure, I still loved the thing I sought. I had thus, on leaving, practically nothing to change, as far as my own studies and deepest spiritual interests were concerned. The old great things were true, in their proper measures and degrees, and sweet and clean, though Neo-theosophy had striven hard to exploit some of them for its own purposes, and in so doing had largely denatured or done violence to no little that was good in them.

I was determined, then, to try to do everything possible to found a clean society, an association that should be genuinely undogmatic, unpretentious, claiming no pseudo-revelations, and truly honest inside and out,—to gather together a group of seekers who desired greatly and earnestly to be instructed by any who had competent knowledge of the many subjects which could enter into the wide programme of our Spiritual Quest. 'Esotericism' and 'occultism' were to be eschewed as corrupting rather than helpful. As far as I was personally concerned, I had bidden a long farewell to the lures of pretence and charlatanism of all kinds. But this was not the idea of the 700 as a body. Most of them expected and desired that

[1] That profound *sapientia sub contrariis abscondita*—or 'wisdom hidden beneath the opposites.'

I should set up a new dissident Neo-theosophic tin tabernacle in the desert of errancy, and carry on what they had grown used to, and what still enslaved them from within. The consequence was that only some 150 of the dissidents, and not all of these heart-wholely, with some 100 others who approved, but who had never had anything to do with Neo-theosophy or Mahātmā-ism, joined together to found the Quest Society. The title of our new undertaking gave us at first much heart-searching; dozens of names were suggested. One day I said to my most intimate colleagues: "I don't know what we are going to call the Society; but I shall call the Quarterly THE QUEST." That settled it; and so we christened ourselves 'The Quest Society.'

I hate to have to be so personal in all this; but I do not see how I can avoid it in the present historical recital. I, therefore, add here the reflection, that a man who has given 25 of the most vigorous and best years of his life in working strenuously for a movement, does not abandon it except for the strongest possible and most carefully considered reasons. Nor was its abandonment without considerable personal economic loss. I gave up an assured income, the certainty of getting published any books I might write, whatever their size, and a world-spread *clientèle* for them. I had a dear wife, the faithful sharer of all my struggles, ever most courageous in spite of continual ill-health, absolutely devoted and straight as a die. We married, not for personal satisfaction, though our marriage was a perfect one, but to make possible the maintaining of a nucleus of an unexceptionable nature in succession to the Avenue Road household, when the latter was broken up on Mrs. Besant's abandoning it to indulge

her Indian craze. To do this my wife sacrificed a pension of £150 a year. So she and I went out into the unknown, burning our boats behind us, because we no longer had any confidence in what we had hitherto slaved for.

The First Period of 'The Quest Society' and of 'The Quest.'

In March, 1909, The Quest Society was inaugurated. It was not really then born; it was conceived at that date and thus began its inter-uterine life. At first it was practically ancillary to the Review, designed to support it; for outside the Quarterly its activities consisted solely in giving some half-a-dozen public lectures a term at Kensington Town Hall. The Council met at my rooms, where also the work of the office was done and the 'archives' were stored. Though we always had an Honorary Secretary, more or less for window-dressing purposes, the real secretarial work was done by Mrs. Mead, who was kindly helped by some personal friends.

At the beginning and up to the first two years of the War (1909-1916) The Quest contained 200pp. and cost only 2/6. The four numbers formed a fat volume for the year. We managed also somehow to cover expenses for these first years. When the devastating War came, however,—as with many other societies and similar undertakings to our own,—we had a terribly hard struggle to carry on. It was for years touch and go. Still, with the blessing of Providence, we did just manage to survive, though battered and bleeding and a veritable hospital case. The Quest had to be reduced to 144pp., and the price

had to be raised to the still inadequate one of 3/-. For printing had gone up 200 per cent. and paper at one time 700 per cent.! Money in it there was none. But there was something far better than £. s. d. There were numbers of excellent articles and first-class contributions,—and all for love. We could not afford to pay our contributors a penny. That is the real virtue of THE QUEST; and I, as editor, am legitimately proud, very proud indeed, on looking back at the list of my most valued and esteemed contributors,—a list hard to beat by any periodical with anything like similar aims to our own.

THE FINANCIAL SIDE OF THE UNDERTAKING.

THE financial responsibility for the publication of THE QUEST has been from the start borne by 'The Quest Publishing Co., Ltd.,'—an imposing title, but in reality a very small concern. The initial capital of this Limited Liability Company consisted of the derisory sum of £42. My dear friend, and late faithful colleague, W. H. Thomas, Managing Director of Jordison's well-known Printing Works, Middlesbrough, took 20 £1 shares, I took 20, and Miss Thomas, his sister, and my late wife each had 1 share. That was all the 'Company,' and that was all the 'capital' we had for some 15 to 16 years of trading. Thomas was strongly averse from spending a halfpenny on advertising. So the only advertisement possible was what could be casually procured by small sums of money, which were given me from time to time by friends for that purpose. Still Thomas was always there as a stand-by. He had from the beginning promised substantial financial support, if necessary; and did in fact later on advance

certain loans to the Company to cover quarterly deficits. On his decease and that of my wife, the Company was slightly reorganized, and £100 new capital was raised. Our trading loss as at the date of the last balance-sheet (Mar. 1925) has amounted to £170 17s. 6d. and the loans to meet it to £183.

Such are the plain facts of this somewhat quixotic undertaking. Experienced men of business, engaged in similar work, have refused to believe it possible for a quarterly of the size and status of THE QUEST to have been maintained on so ridiculous a capital, and that too during the paralyzing years of the War. The whole adventure indeed may well be said to constitute a veritably 'unique' romance of periodical publication.

THE ACQUIRING A HOME FOR THE SOCIETY.

IN 1919, when the Armistice came, though personally I did not approve, on the ground that we could not afford it, my colleagues courageously determined to take two large Studios, one for a Lecture Room and the other for a Library and Reading Room, at 27, Clareville Grove, S.W. 7, so that we might have at last a home of our own. This meant a new financial responsibility of at least £150 per annum. This extra expense was met, first, by means of a three-years' Guarantee Fund, and then by donations. The seven years' lease of the Studios will come to an end on June 24, 1926; but, fortunately, there is every expectation of our being able to renew the lease on very similar terms. On Feb. 4 of this year the Society determined in view of this situation on a drastic change. It was resolved that the system of donations (by which practically

the few pay for the many) had better be done away with. To make this possible, it was proposed and carried, on the motion of myself, that the old relationship of the Society to the Review, should be no longer continued. The social side of the Society has grown gradually into a sphere of much usefulness. Owing to the possession of a home of our own, we have developed numerous new activities, and have collected a very decent library, now numbering upwards of 4,000 items. This more personal social side of our joint undertaking is evidently the most necessary first to set on a sound financial basis; and so it has now been made the first call on our subscription-income. It has been accordingly decided that the hitherto obligatory subscription of members to THE QUEST, and the yearly small subsidy, be discontinued. (For non-resident members, however, no change will be made.) In lieu of this non-receipt of THE QUEST by resident members, the Editor's offer of his three paid yearly lecture-courses being made free to all members has been accepted,—a small honorarium being guaranteed by the Society to recoup part of the loss to the lecturer (the yearly fees for these lectures amounting to £3 for those who attend regularly).

In connection with this brief history of the Rooms, it must be recalled that at the beginning a considerable sum of money was given by one of the members, who modestly desires to remain anonymous, for decorating very artistically the Studios, and putting them into thoroughly sound repair and equipping them in every way. The debt of gratitude due from the Society for this most generous gift should never be forgotten.

PROSPECT.

The New Series of 'The Quest.'

On the question of advertisement, to which reference has been made above, I was always in friendly disagreement with my old colleague Thomas. And by advertisement I do not mean any wild placarding or vulgar booming of goods, but some sober form of making our existence known. The Quest has now a deservedly high and well-established reputation both here and on the Continent. But it is a *succès d'estime*; for its subscription-list is small and sales do not balance expenses. I am myself, however, confident that with a little judicious advertising the at present small but steady quarterly deficit could be more than wiped out. By judicious advertising I mean, for instance, some such scheme as supplying clubs, libraries and reading-rooms (especially those at the universities and educational centres) and also ocean-going liners with gratis copies,—say, for one or two years, when their librarians might be asked to subscribe, if they find the Review of interest to their readers.

I am emboldened so to think by the expert opinion of a well-known organizer and publicist, a man well-acquainted with the thought and needs of the day. On examining carefully the last January number of The Quest, he said: "You have the goods: what you want is the means of distribution. A large intelligent public is hungering for what you can supply: they want only to be told of The Quest's existence."

Raising of Capital for the New Venture.

To finance this sober advertising, and also to be in a position to pay for at least occasional articles from

scholars and writers, who belong to that class of society which is being relentlessly crushed and starved out of existence, it is proposed to put the New Series of THE QUEST, beginning with the next October number, at last on a business-like footing. To do this, arrangements are being made to issue privately 1,000 £1 Non-cumulative 5 per cent. Preference Shares of The Quest Publishing Company, Limited. With the help of this new capital the financial position of THE QUEST should certainly in a year or two be securely stabilized. Nor should the money be so difficult to raise among one's well-wishers; for I have good reason to believe that, apart from known old friends, THE QUEST has many others, whom I do not know personally, but who will perhaps be prepared to help, once they know the financial difficulties which have had to be contended with all these years. *Anyone wishing to support the new venture should communicate with me personally.*

'THE QUEST' REPRINT SERIES.

IN the back numbers of the seventeen volumes of THE QUEST there are hidden away many valuable articles and some of prime distinction and importance. It is therefore proposed to inaugurate 'The Quest Reprint Series' as part of the business of The Quest Publishing Co. These articles will be reproduced photographically, bound in THE QUEST cover and sold at a cheap rate,—say 1/- for an article, and so on if there are two or more on the same subject.

THE NEW 'QUEST.'

THE new QUEST will contain a somewhat smaller number of pages, so that it may be sold at 2/6 a number with an annual subscription of 10/-, post

free. The quality of the contents will of course not be lowered. But every effort will be made to induce learned and distinguished contributors to make what they have to say accessible to intelligent laymen and laywomen, who have had no previous special training. The main papers will be shorter than heretofore,—say 4,000 words as the limit, save in very exceptional cases. A summary of the chief points of the substantive articles will be added for the benefit, not only of the general reader, but also of reviewers, who are generally hopelessly at sea with no little of QUEST-matter. The balance of subscriptions to the Old Series will of course be credited towards the New.

AN INTERVAL BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW SERIES.

To mark clearly the distinction and break between the Old and New Series, the July number will, as already indicated, be dropped. And this will be done, not only for the above reason, but also because the Editor would like to enjoy for once in his life three months' entire freedom from editing,—a privilege he has not been able to compass since 1889. The Index of the three Nos. of Vol. XVII. is, therefore, added to the April issue, and the volume will be accordingly shortened by a quarter of the usual length.

CONTRIBUTORS, REVIEWS AND EXCHANGES.

I WOULD, however, beg my many contributors not to regard this dropping of a number as making any real break in the gathering of material. MSS. will be considered as usual, and if accepted, they will be allocated to some future issue of the New Series.

The most serious shortage will be in respect to Reviews and Notices, which will have to be dropped

for a quarter. This, I am afraid, cannot be helped. Indeed, as regards books for review, I would much prefer having a standing arrangement with publishers, not to send me review-copies promiscuously, but to wait till I ask for them. A number of books that come in are unsuitable for notice in so distinctive a publication as THE QUEST.

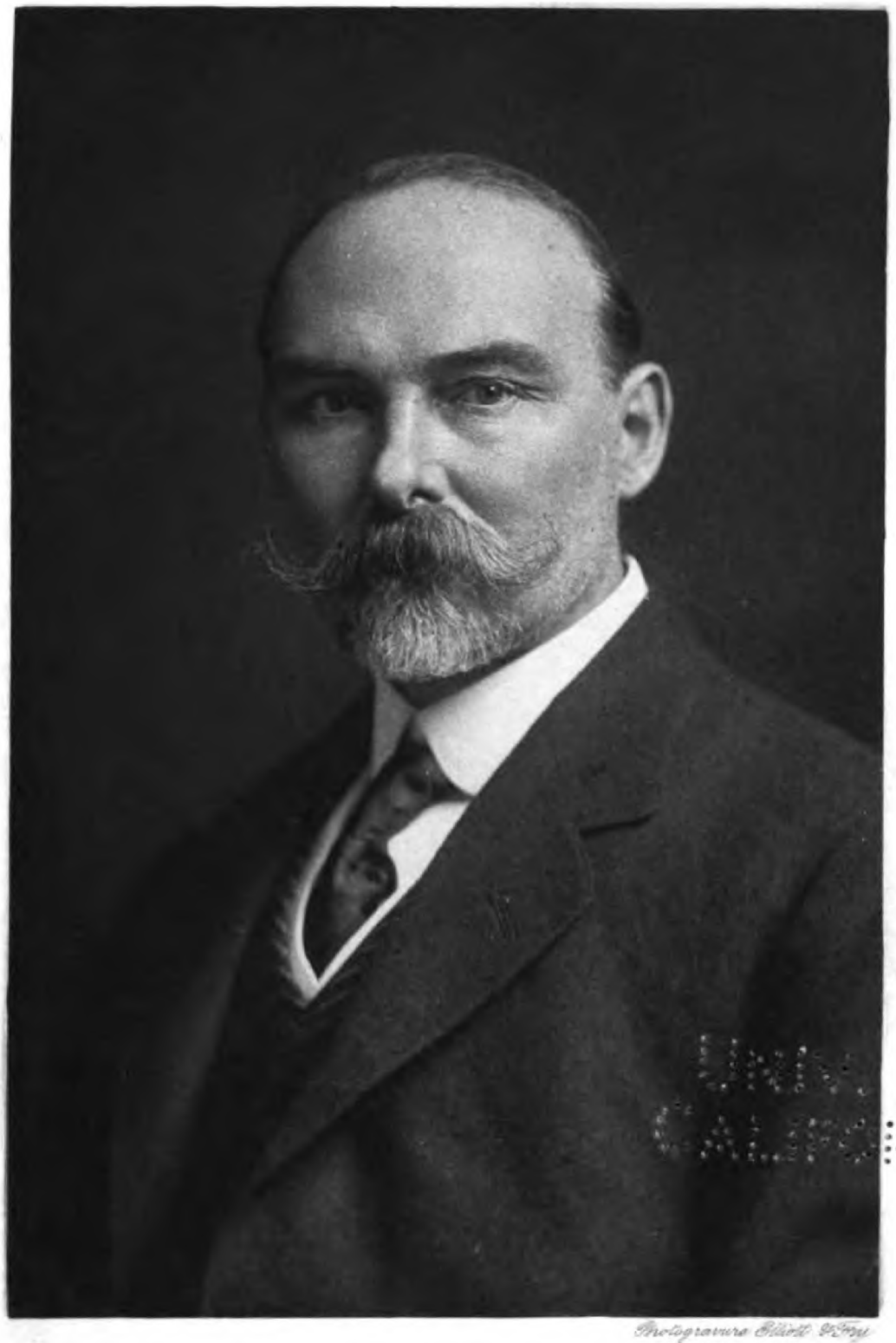
As to our numerous Exchanges, I would beg publishers kindly not to break the sequence because of the non-publication of the July number. These Exchanges are all put on the tables of the Quest Society's Library for the use of readers, and it would be a great loss and pity if the sets were broken.

PORTRAIT.

IT is only after very great hesitation that I have finally decided to add a photographic reproduction of my bodily appearance to this last number of the Old Series, which is of a somewhat memorial nature. I have never done such a thing before in my life, and have indeed hardly ever given away a photograph privately. But it has been represented that distant readers may be curious to see what the Editor of this Review looks like, and that contributors would like to know more of the impersonal functionary who accepts or rejects or revises the work of so frequently better men than himself. Of the numerous photographs for which firms of photographers in the past have worried me to sit, I select the best,—or, let us say, the most flattering,—taken some ten years ago.

THE PROGRAMME AND POLICY OF 'THE QUEST.'

THE programme of THE QUEST is set forth with sufficient brevity and clarity on the inside cover of



Photogravure Billett & Fox

Yours sincerely G.R.S. Mead

every issue. The policy of THE QUEST, as far as the Editor is concerned, is very simple. It is to secure the most competent expositions of the innumerous themes that fall within the wide compass of its programme, which is throughout distinctive, and in all its aspects tends towards the clarification of the only genuinely practical object of a life lived in moral and spiritual wakefulness and awareness.

THE QUEST has no motto; but The Quest Society at its birth chose the great saying: "Seek and ye shall find." If the Review would express tersely the spirit which animates its best efforts, no better phrase perhaps could be found to indicate this than "*Esse, non Habere*"—"To Be, not to Have," or "Possess." It is the ideal of the life of mystical heroism or spiritual realization. It was the motto of that great astronomical and philosophical genius, the Dane Tycho Brahe. It means in expansion: "Seek first the Kingdom of Heaven"—the Divine Rulership within; with the promise that then "all things shall be added to you." It is fundamentally a religious and spiritual exhortation, entailing a life of service. It is the very antipodes, poles asunder from all 'magical' and 'occult' pretensions, which ever seek the 'will to power,' and are always essentially anti-social. The Divine Authority behind the two greatest spiritual teachers of the East and the West respectively,—the Buddha and the Christ,—passed judgment once for all on this old bad way, which for so long tyrannized over our ignorant and long-suffering humanity. THE QUEST will deal with the history and criticism of such 'occult' subjects, but never with their advocacy. It takes its stand unhesitatingly on the side of moral and spiritual values.

G. R. S. MEAD.

MORE MANDÆAN AND OTHER SAVIOUR-LORE PARALLELS TO THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

Professor RUDOLF BULTMANN, Ph.D., University of Marburg.

[IN the 1925 October number, under the title 'A New Background for the Fourth Gospel,' was given a summary of Prof. Bultmann's outstanding contribution to the study of Mandæan and other documents relative to some of the leading ideas of the christology of the Fourth Gospel, entitled "Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandäischen und manichäischen Quellen für das Verständnis der Johannesevangeliums,' in the May number of the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Giessen, Töpelmann), xxiv. 100-146. In the January issue the first batch of these extraordinarily interesting parallels to the Fourth Gospel from the recently opened-up literature, which establishes the existence of a pre-Christian Oriental Salvation-myth of a quite distinctive character, was, with Prof. Bultmann's permission, given in English translation, from the Greek texts or from the German versions of the Oriental texts assembled by him. These parallels are now hereunder completed.—ED.]

14. ***To the Powers of this World the Messenger appears as a Stranger; they do not know his Parentage, for he is of another Origin than they.***

Jn. 8_{14-19}: "... for I know whence I come, and whither I go; but ye know not whence I come, or whither I go."

8_{23}: "Ye are from beneath; I am from above: ye are of this world; I am not of this world."

8_{43}: "Why do ye not understand my speech? Because ye cannot hear my word."

In the Mandæan sources the designation of the Messenger as the 'Stranger' is typical.[1]

Mand. Lit., p. 203: "They observed me not, knew me not
and troubled themselves not about me.
They observed me not, they knew me not,
who I am and whose son I am.
The man who saw me and knew me,
took his way to the region of Life."

Mand. Lit., p. 224: "I hear the voice of the Seven [World-powers],
who whisper in secret and speak:
'Whence is this stranger man,
Whose discourse is not like our discourse?'"

Cp. G.R. XI. 258, p. 258, 12ff. In the same fashion also in the John-book, c. 17, p. 67, Šum-Kušṭā [Shem the Leal] speaks of himself: "I was not a son of the house (*i.e.* of this world), and my form was not of perishable things. My soul is not of the world."

As in Mand. Lit., p. 224, the Messenger keeps himself "stranger from the world," so in the Hymn of the Soul of the Act. Thom. c. 109, p. 220, 19f., the 'King's son' dwelling in 'Egypt' says of himself: "And being alone I was in appearance a foreigner and seemed strange to my [acquaintances]." Mānī says of himself (in the rôle of Mithra, the 'Third Messenger'): "I am the first stranger, the son of God Zarvān, the child of the sovereign."[2] "I am a man, a Light(?)-seed, a living, glorious [one]. I am a son of the sovereign . . . (and) have become a stranger from the high-lordship."[3]

Od. Sal. 28, 16f.: "I did not perish, for I was not their[4] brother
They also knew not my parentage."

As in the Fourth Gospel, his own knowledge corresponds to the ignorance of the world concerning the origin of the Messenger.

[1] In general the beings of the world beyond are called 'strange.' "In Marcion's phrase 'the strange God,' the word 'strange' should also have this meaning" (Lidzbarski, G.R., p. 5, 2).

[2] F. W. K. Müller, Abh. d. Berl. Akad., 1904, p. 29.

[3] Ibid. p. 106.

[4] That is, of the earthly or demonic powers who oppress the Messenger

Cp. Mand. Lit., pp. 24f.: "He knew the nest out of which he had come. His name was above the heaven, above the earth was his sovereignty." This motive plays a rôle above all in the Hermetic and Gnostic literature in reference to the Mystæ or Gnostics.[1]

In more or less competition with this motive of the Stranger, whose parentage is not known, whose speech is not understood, stands the representation of the Messenger's being clothed in the garments of the material world, and appearing to the world-powers (or alternatively to the demonic powers) as one like unto themselves, or as singularly destitute, so that he deceives them and remains hidden. But both ideas proceed from the basic notions of the myth; both indeed are also perceivable in the Fourth Gospel.

The competition of the second motive with the first comes out especially in the Hymn of the Soul of the Act. Thom., where shortly after the above-quoted passage (p. 221, 4) we read: "I put on the things that they wore, that I might not be a stranger. . . ." The myth of the Messenger clothed in earthly vesture is hidden behind I. Cor. 2_9, II. Cor. 8_9, Phil. 2_{6-8}. It presents itself in specifically Christian modification in Ign. Eph. 19, 1: "And the virginity of Mary and her delivery escaped the notice of the ruler of this world, in like manner also the death of the Lord. . . ." The myth is carried through in detail, as is well known, in Asc. Is. c. 10-11. In keeping with it the demons confess in Act. Thom. c. 45, p. 162, 15ff.: "For we thought to bring him (the Son of God) also under the yoke like the rest. But he changing himself had us in subjection; for we did not know him. He deceived us by the great unloveliness of his form and his poverty and his destitution. For beholding him thus we thought that he was a man clothed in flesh, not knowing that he it is who gives life to man." A somewhat different turn is given to the motive in Act. Thom. c. 148, p. 250, 4ff., when the faithful say that only the 'human body' of the Lord is visible, while his 'majesty' can be

[1] Cp. J. P. Wetter, ZNW 18 (1917/18) 49-68. Wetter, however, does not distinguish this motive from the Greek philosophical formula of self-knowledge.

perceived only in faith. The motive is developed in crude mythological form in the Mandæan descent to hell of Hibil-Ziwā; the hero lets himself be swallowed by the prince of hell, and so vanquishes him by cutting his entrails in pieces. G.R. V.1, p. 157.[1]

A remarkable variation of the motive comes up in passages where it is reported that the voice of the heavenly Messenger is heard, but his form not seen.

Thus, as is well known, Clement of Al., Strom. VI. 6, 45 and Adumbr. I. pt. 818, is acquainted with the quotation: "Hades says to Perdition: His form we saw not, but his voice we heard." While in this case the sentence alludes to the Hades-journey of Christ, in the Naassene document, in Hippol. Ref. V. 8, 14, it is used of the descent of the Original Man into the world.[2] Answering to this we read also in the sacrament of unction of Act. Thom. c. 27, p. 142, 7ff.: "Now the Lord was hidden from them, saying by voice: Peace be unto you, brothers! But they heard his voice only; his form they saw not. For not yet had they received the sealing of the seal." And in Act. Joh. c. 99, p. 200, 20ff., the Saviour reveals: ". . . Nor am I he upon the cross, whom now thou seest not but hearest a voice only. I was thought to be what I am not, not being what I was to many others. But what they will say of me, [is] mean and not worthy of me. As therefore the region of rest is neither seen nor spoken of, much more shall the Lord thereof not be seen." To this connection may very well belong also the Turfan-Fragment T.M. 423 d: "Fire came forth. And . . . that the sun-god had arisen. Over (his) palace

[1] For the motive of the unknown Saviour, which, as is well known, is otherwise also widespread in the Gnosis and in Early Church literature and with many variations, cp. Bousset, Hauptprobleme der Gnosis, pp. 242ff.; H. Schmidt, Jona, 1907, pp. 175-177; M. Dibelius, Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus, 1909, pp. 88-99; J. Kroll, Beiträge zum Descensus ad inferos, 1922, pp. 12, 2. 22, 1.—With the idea of change of form to escape notice the notion of the multiplicity of form of the Saviour may perhaps be connected; thus Dibelius, *op. cit.*, p. 98, points to the phrase "And forms of gods I will display," in Hippol. Ref. V. 10, preceded by: "through all aeons will I make my way, all mysteries will I open up." For this multiformity cp. besides Act. Joh. cc. 87ff; Act. Thom. c. 80, p. 195, 17 Syr.: "Praise be to thee, who art hidden in many forms." Reitzenstein, Hellenist. Wundererz. p. 127; Iran. Erlösungsmyst., p. 172, 2; A. Marmorstein, Arch. f. Religionswiss. 16 (1913), pp. 173-175; Bousset, ZNW 18 (1917/18), pp. 14-16; Hennecke, Neutest. Apocryphen,[2] p. 173.

[2] Cp. Bousset, Kyrios Christos,[2] p. 27, 2; Reitzenstein, Das Mand. Buch des Herrn der Grösse, p. 82, 1.

incomparably he rolled along. Thereon from on high from the æther there came a voice. It called me; thus spake it: 'O son of Warukdad, thy . . . thus prospers. Here hast thou seen more; now shalt thou for ever not die. Quickly hence I return.' And from here forwards from the south I heard the voice of god Chorugh . . . but himself I saw not at all. Thereon with affection naming my name he called."[1] In any case Jn. 3$_8$ belongs here: "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the voice thereof, but knowest not whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit." It is true that the Greek writer seems to alter the original mythological motive into a simple figure by taking *pneûma* first of all as wind; but with him too the mythological meaning of *pneûma* breaks through again in the application he makes of it ("so is every one etc."). Originally the *pneûma*, of which it is said that its voice is heard, but its home is not known, is the heavenly power,—which is sometimes designated as Messenger, sometimes only as 'Voice' (but also as 'letter,' 'staff'),—which rouses the primal man when sunken in sleep. For Jn. 3$_8$, it may be pointed out that according to Theodore bar Khôni the 'Spirit of Life' as 'Voice' calls the primal man.[2] Moreover it is the same voice which in Jn. 12$_{28}$ sounds from heaven and is not understood by the people.

All that is said of the Messenger holds also of 'his own,' the faithful; "so is everyone that is born of the Spirit." They are indeed kin to him, belong to the same nature; of them it holds: ". . . born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God" (Jn. 1$_{13}$). Thus they too are strangers in the world (Act. Thom. c. 61, p. 178, 21); and above all the Apostle is again and again designated as 'stranger' in the Act. Thom. Thus also in Mand. Lit., p. 158, the soul is addressed:

> "Thou, chosen one, camest not from here,
> and not from here is thy planting planted.
> Thy region is the region of Life,
> thy dwelling is the Light-dwelling."

Beyond all, we think of the Gnostic prayer handed on by

[1] Von le Coq, Abh. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., 1922, phil.-hist. Kl., Nr. 2 p. 28.

[2] Cp. Bousset, ZNW 18 (1917/1918), p. 12f.; Reitzenstein, Die Göttin Psyche, 1917, p. 7, 12. On Voice cp. [a long list of references].

Irenæus I. 21, 5: "I am a vessel of honour compared with the female that made you. If your mother knows not her own root, I know myself and know whence I am . . . "; also of the fragment from the Gosp. of Philip in Epiph. Hær. 26, 13: "I know myself . . . for I am . . . of those from above." In the Mand. Lit., pp. 99-101, the soul on her journey to heaven is asked for her parentage, and when she can give the right information, she ascends to the region of Light.

To the whole complex of these ideas moreover there belongs still another motive: The Messenger, who is not known by the world-powers, will one day be known through his exaltation, and in dismay the world-powers will become conscious that he has outwitted and vanquished them.

Thus in Asc. Is. 11, 24ff., Satan and the various angelic powers in deep sorrow ask: "How has our Lord descended upon us and we perceived not the splendour . . .?" To this myth Ign. Eph. 19, 2, goes back: "How then was he manifested to the æons? A star shone in heaven over all the stars; and its light was ineffable and its newness produced a strangeness. And all the rest of the stars together with sun and moon became a choir to that star, but it excelled in its light above all. And there was confusion,—whence was the newness that was unlike them" (cp. also §8). Phil. $2_{10\alpha}$. gives a hint of this scene of exaltation over the angelic powers, as also I. Tim. 3_{16}: "He was seen of angels." Perhaps Act. Thom. c. 148, p. 250, 18f., refers to this: ". . . at the sight the dragon was terrified and the powers that were with him were thrown into confusion," though the sequel seems to indicate that in this case the scene is thought of as in the lower regions. In any case the following quotations refer to the ascent:

Od. Sal. 17, 6: "All who saw me, were amazed;
a stranger I appeared unto them."

Od. Sal. 41, 8: "All who see me, must be amazed,
for I am of another race."

It is, indeed, the pious singer who is here speaking; but he

identifies himself with the Saviour whose myth has to describe his own religious experience. There is clearly a return to the situation of Asc. Is. 11, 24ff. (above) in Mand. Lit. 75, where, after reference to the exaltation of the Messenger, we read: "The worlds were ashamed that no one saw his form, his glory and his splendour." The Messenger's triumph over the angel-powers seems to be described also in the allegory in the John-book c. 39 (pp. 161-164).

In quite analogous fashion again is the fate of the faithful soul described in Mand. Lit., p. 81 (in her vestures of glory the purified soul ascends on high after death): "When the Planets caught sight of her from their region, they were ashamed, clenched their fists, smote on the forecourt of their breast and spake: 'Woe to the Planets, that they were vanquished, while the works of their hands were victorious.' They spake moreover: 'How fair is this glory, how bright this light, how lovely this attire, how marvellous this image!'"

15. *The Hearers of the Proclamation of the Messenger are obdurate.*

Jn. 9$^{39-41}$: " . . . that they which see not may see; and that they which see may become blind. . . . If ye were blind, ye would have no sin: but now ye say, We see: your sin remaineth."

15^{24}: "If I had not done among them the works which none other did, they had not had sin: but now have they both seen and hated both me and my Father."

From the Mandæan literature cp. the passages quoted on p. 177, above; also Mand. Lit., p. 155:

"They were blind and saw not,
their ears were stopped and they heard not. . . .
They hated the way of Life
and loved the abode, the seat of the wicked."

16. *The Messenger is abandoned in the World and hated.*

The world hates Jesus (Jn. 7^{7}, 15$^{18, 24}$) and his disciples (15^{18}, 17^{14}, I. Jn. 3^{13}). From out his affliction he prays to the Father:

"Glorify thy name," and receives as answer the 'voice out of heaven': "I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again," which is for him the sign that: "Now is the judgment of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out" (12$^{23-31}$).

Mand. Lit., p. 198:

"Over his friends he spread glory,
yet all the worlds persecuted him.
When he saw that the worlds persecuted him,
he raised his eyes on high to Light's region.
They opened for him the gate of Light,
raised him on high and stayed him on Life."

Mand. Lit., p. 202:

"He spake and proclaimed out of this world [Tibil],
and Great Life answered him out of the hiddenness.
Out of the hiddenness answered him Great Life;
it made an envoy and sent it to him."

The lamentation over the persecution of the Messenger and his disciples and the comforting promises find expression in Mand. Lit., pp. 208f.:

"A poor [man] am I; when shall I go hence
that my aching heart may find soothing?
Soothing my aching heart find,
alleviation my world-strange soul?
In the region where it shall be fully questioned,[1]
let Life's glory rest on me.
May it rest on my disciples,
whom the Seven persecute in this world.
The Seven persecute,
the worlds that persecute and act wrongly.
The Seven, they and their king,
go unto the fire-brands.
The good, chosen, righteous and perfect
ascend on high and behold the Light's region."

The short piece in Mand. Lit., p. 209, contains both cry and answer:

[1] A station of the heaven-journey of the soul.

"A poor [man] am I, a man in subjection,
man of righteousness put to the test; give ear and list to my cry.—
Thou, poor [one], with thy sons, offspring and disciples,
wilt ascend on high and behold the Light's region."

The scene which we know from Jn. 12$_{23ff.}$ [referred to, p. 315 above] takes poetical form in the Mandæan literature with singular frequency; the reason for this is evidently that in this situation the pious feels with extraordinary strength his union with the Messenger, or alternatively would bring himself to consciousness.

For thus speaks the individual soul in the two just-quoted pieces as also in the following, yet so that its destiny is considered as identical with that of the Original Man or of the Messenger.

Mand. Lit., pp. 223-227:

"A poor [man] I, who comes out of the fruits,
a world-stranger, who comes out of the distance.
They brought me out of the abode of the good;
alas! in the dwelling of the wicked made they me to dwell. . . .
I would not and will not
dwell in the vain dwelling.
With my power and my enlightenment
did I dwell in the vain dwelling.
With my enlightenment and my laudation
I kept myself strange from the world.
I stood among them
as a child that has no father. . . .
I hear the voice of the Seven,
who whisper in secret and say:
'Whence is this stranger man,
whose discourse is not like our discourse?'
I listened not to their discourse;
then were they full of wicked anger against me.
Life, that heard my call,
did send an envoy to meet me. . . .
He speaks:

Poor [one], be without terror and fear;
say not: I stand here alone.
For thy sake, O poor [one],
was this firmament spread out. . . .
Thou poor [one] On thy right hand rests glory,
on thy left hand rest lights.
Stay steadfast in thy surety,
until thy measure is perfect.
When thy measure is perfect,
I myself will come to thee.
I will bring thee vestures of glory. . . .
I will set thee free from the wicked,
from the sinners [will I] deliver thee.
I will make thee dwell in thy shekinah,
into the pure region deliver thee."

In keeping with this the faithful are exhorted in Mand. Lit., p. 195:

"Endure the world's persecution
with heart true and faithful.
Worship me in uprightness
that I may show myself and be for you a helper."

In the Mandæan John-book c. 66 (p. 224), after the sending forth of the Messenger, a description is given of how he is encircled by hostile powers and prays. Thereon he receives the staff, which bestows on him 'discourse and learning,' and with which he smites down all his opponents, until he has accomplished his work and ascends on high. Analogously therewith in the John-book c. 14 and 17 (pp. 58-62 and 67-70) the lament of Šum-Kušṭā [Shem] and his consolation by the heavenly envoy is narrated. So also in G.R. V3, 180, p. 183f., we are told how the soul on her journey has come to the guard-house of the ravening, raving-mad dogs, whose eyes are blinded so that they see not, and whose ears are stopped so that they cannot hear. When anguish and trembling seize on the soul, a 'Man'[1] calls to her: "Thou man who callest to Life, and whom Life answereth! Have firm trust in Life . . . ."

[1] How he is characterized is not clear owing to the corruption of the text.

Manichæan analogies to the lamentations of him who is exiled from the Light-world are to be found in the Turfan-Fragments quoted above, p. 309; to which may be added M.7:

"Out of the Light and from the Gods am I,
and I have become a stranger to them.
The foes have fallen upon me,
by them am I led hence to death."[1]

In the Odes of Solomon the state of the Saviour (or alternatively of the pious) on earth is described in typical phrases, partly descended from the style of the oriental psalms of lamentation. In a number of passages he is rejected and condemned; he is put in bonds, is ill and hated. He calls on high and receives answer (21, 1-3):

"I raised up my arms to the grace of the Lord,
that he should loose my bonds from me.
Then did my helper raise me up to his grace and salvation.
I put off darkness and clothed myself in light."[2]

17. *As he has come, he will depart; as he has descended, he will ascend.*

Jn. 6_{62}: "[What] then if ye should behold the Son of man ascending where he was before?"
8_{14}: "I know whence I came, and whither I go. . . .
13_{3}: "Knowing that . . . he came forth from God, and goeth unto God."
16_{28}: "I came out from the Father, and am come into the world: again, I leave the world, and go unto the Father."

Mand. Lit., p. 158 (the individual soul is addressed):

[1] F. W. K. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

[2] Whether the kindred motive which repeatedly occurs in the Fourth Gospel (7_{30-44}, 8_{20-57}, 10_{31-37}). that his enemies could not lay hands on Jesus before the appointed hour, is also to be mentioned in this connection, is not quite clear to me. In the John-book c. 17 (p. 67) Shum-Kuṣṭā says: "My root is not of the world, and the wicked do me no injury." When Yahyā-Yōḥānā [John] challenged the priests in Jerusalem to burn him with fire, they replied (c. 27, p. 96): "Fire consumes thee not, Yahyā, for the name of Life has been uttered o'er thee. A sword hews thee not in pieces, Yahyā, for Bar-Haiyē [Life's Son] resteth upon thee."

"Thou, chosen [one], camest not hence,
and thy planting was not from hence planted.
Thy region is the region of Light,
thy dwelling is the Light-dwelling. . . .
Good [one], ascend to Life's house,
go to Light's dwelling."

John-book c. 42 (p. 169): "Whence hast thou come, thou true man, who checks up the basenesses of this world?—I am a man from the other world, on whose head the sign is set up. The sign is set up on my head, and I ascend therewith to Light's region."

John-book c. 66 (p. 224): "Without fault I ascend."

The Odes of Solomon celebrate this ascent at large and tell of the "Man, who humbled himself and was exalted because of his righteousness" (41, 12). The Hymn of the Soul in the Acts of Thomas sings of the departure from the heavenly home and the return thither in a fabulous allegorical vesture; and in the same Acts (c. 169, p. 288, 5ff.) the exalted Apostle speaks to those who mourn at his grave: "I am not here; why do ye sit and watch? For I have departed and received the hoped for [reward]." And in Iren. I. 21, 5, the ascending soul of the Gnostic says to the spiritual powers: ". . . I return to my own, whence I have come."

18. *Then will he be sought for, but not found.*

Jn. 7_{34}: "Ye shall seek me, and shall not find me: and where I am ye cannot come."

8_{21}: "I go away, and ye shall seek me . . . whither I go, ye cannot come."

Prov. $1_{23\text{-}31}$: ". . .

Because I called and ye would not,
I signed to you and no one came,
because ye rejected my counsel,
my reproof did not please you:
so laugh I too at your calamity,
I mock at your fear. . . .
Then they call on me, [but] I hear not,
they seek for and find me not.[1]

[1] Volz' translation in Schriften des AT. III. 2, p. 148.—In justification for the use of this and the following passage I refer to my article in Eucharisterion, H. Gunkel, 1923, pp. 3-26.

Mt. 23$^{38f.}$: "Behold, your house is left unto you desolate. For I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed *is* he that cometh in the name of the Lord."[1]

Mand. Lit., p. 155:

"They were blind and saw not,
Their ears were stopped and they heard not. . . .
As they were called and answered not,
who shall answer them when they call?
As they were given and received not,
who shall give them when they beg for it?
They hated the way of Life,
and loved the dwelling, the seat of the wicked.
They loved the dwelling, the seat of the wicked,
yea, shall they now in the seat of the wicked be bound."

G.R. II 1, 58, p. 48: "Then, when he (Anôš-Uthra [Enoch]) shows his friends the truth, lays waste the city of Jerusalem and we (the heavenly Messengers) ascend to the Light-worlds and the shekinahs of glory, we reveal ourselves no more in the world, until the time comes and the measure of the world is full."[2]

19. *He will be 'justified' by his Ascension.*

Jn. 16$^{8-10}$: The "comforter" will convict the world: . . . "in respect of righteousness, because I go to the Father, and ye behold me no more."

I. Tim. 3^{16}: "He who was manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached among the nations, believed on in the world, raised up in glory."

Od. Sal. 17, 2-4: "I am pronounced righteous through my Lord,
eternal is my salvation.
I am freed from vanity and no more am condemned,
my thongs are severed through him.
Face and form of a new being I received,
entered therein and was redeemed."

[1] Cp. Reitzenstein, Das mand. Buch d. Herrn d. Gr., pp. 41ff.
Cp. Reitzenstein, ibid., pp. 24 + 41ff.

Od. Sal. 25, 10-12 : "I became sound in thy truth
and holy in thy righteousness.
All my adversaries gave way before me,
I became the Lord's in the name of the Lord.
I was justified through his friendliness,
and his rest endures for ever and ever."

Od. Sal. 29, 5 : "He laid my enemy low,
and justified me by his grace."

Od. Sal. 31, 5 : "And he was himself pronounced righteous ;
for so his holy Father has promised him."

I have not found this terminology in the Mandæan literature; I conjecture, however, that the 'righteousness' which is demonstrated by Jesus' departure to the Father, is the equivalent of what is characterized as 'victory' among the Mandæans. The 'becoming justified' of which I. Tim. and the Odes of Solomon speak, would accordingly not have to be understood, as might at first be conjectured, from a myth such as the Egyptian Horus-myth,[1] but would mean 'to triumph'; the presupposition would not be a forensic decision but quite generally the hostilities of enemies.

The Mandæan verb *zka* means in the first place 'to be found not guilty at the bar of justice, to win there'; thence it got the more general meaning of 'being victorious.' The substantive *zakota* means 'guiltlessness, purity of soul' in the sense of 'triumphing.' According to Lidzbarski (J.B. II. 1f. (p. 1 A. 3), in many passages it cannot be decided which sense is preferable, but the meaning of 'purity of soul, guiltlessness' in any case preponderates. My present view is that as a matter of fact in the quoted passages and the Mandæan phraseology of 'being victorious' the same thought, and ultimately the same terminology also, is involved.[2]

[1] Cp. Ed. Norden, Die Geburt des Kindes, 1924, pp. 124, 128.

[2] Cp. G.R. XII3. 275, p. 273, 6f.: "Our *right* will the good Father (defend ?), who stands *victorious* before Life."

With the Mandæans the formula "Life is victorious" occurs again and again in the John-book and Liturgies; in addition we have very frequently such similar terms of expression as: "Victorious is the Man who has come hither"; "Thou wert victorious, Mandā d'Haiyē [Life's Gnosis], and didst help all thy friends (or brothers) to victory" (*e.g.* Mand. Lit. 6 refs.). The Messenger is 'establisher of victory' and 'lord of all victory' (ib. pp. 244, 254). In the John-book, c. 38 (p. 161) reads: "The Seven are vanquished, and the stranger Man remains victorious. The Man of righteousness put to the test was victorious and helped all his race to victory.[1] Life is exalted and is victorious, and victorious is the Man who has come hither." The faithful are exhorted: "Let yourselves be instructed, that ye may ascend to the Light-region victorious" (J.B. c. 13, p. 55, etc.). The 'First Life' and the Messenger are praised because of the greatness of their victory (Mand. Lit., pp. 125, 129). The faithful desire: "May we be with thy conquests," or affirm: "We remain secure in thy victory" (ib. pp. 132, 138f.).

In the Odes of Solomon this terminology does not come out very prominently.

A few examples might be mentioned, however:

Od. Sal. 9, 11f.: "All those who have conquered, shall be
written in his book;
for your writer is your own victory,
who descries you in advance
and wills that ye be saved."

Od. Sal. 18, 6f.: "Let not the light be vanquished by the
darkness,
nor let the truth yield to the lie!
Let thy right hand
make our weakness victorious!"

Od. Sal. 29, 7-9: "He led me into his light
and gave me the rod of his power,
to enslave the thoughts of the peoples
and cast down the power of the mighty,
to make war through his word
and win victory through his might."

[1] Cp. Mand. Lit., p. 268: "His race receives continuance in victory."

The Acts of Thomas contain characteristic examples.

In c. 52 (p. 168, 17ff.) invocation is made in prayer of "the power of salvation which comes from that Power which conquers all things and subjects them to its own will." In c. 94 (p. 207, 23f.) the "meek" are called blessed as those who "have conquered the evil one." In c. 128 (p. 236, 19f.) it is stated that after death comes the judgment between 'life' and 'death,' 'condemnation' and 'victory.' In the prayer of the sacrament of oil in c. 157 (p. 266, 14f.) the "power of the cross" is invoked, "clothed in which the [true] men conquer their opponents,"—"he who crowns the victors." And in the sequel (p. 267, 5f.): "May the power of Jesus, [may] his conquering power, come!" (also p. 257, 7). Finally, in the prayer in the Acts of John of c. 112 (p. 211, 9ff.), Jesus is invoked: "Thou wast manifested to her (the soul) who was conquered by Satan; thou who didst conquer the adversary of her who fled for refuge unto thee."

It seems to me now that the Johannine passages which treat of victory, must also be set in this context.

Jn. 16_{33}: "In the world ye have tribulation: but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world."

I. Jn. $5_{4f.}$: "For whatsoever is begotten of God overcometh the world: and this is the victory that hath overcome the world, *even* our faith. And who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?"

Add I. Jn. $2_{13f.}$: ("ye have overcome the evil one"); 4_4.

20. *The Messenger on his Departure prays for his Own.*

Jn. 17: The prayer of the High Priest as it is called.

Mand. Lit., pp. 190-192:

"In the beginning I went forth in a cloud [*sc.* of glory]
out of thee, O radiant home. . . .
After the counsel which he (my planter) took with the Great,
he sent me to accomplish a building.
A building was I for the good to accomplish,

the men true and faithful.
I built it, upbuilt it
and raised it high up on the cloud.
I planted therein the plants of Life,
men true and faithful.
I bade my builder:
Turn thy eyes on my plants.
On my plants turn thy eyes,
that they may not lie there asleep,
and the good forget what they have been bidden." [1]

Mand. Lit., p. 258:

"A poor [man] am I; when shall I go hence,
that my anguished heart may find soothing? . . .
In the region where is question in plenty,
Life's glory rests on me.
It rests on my disciples,
whom the Seven pursue in this world." [2].

From the situation of the Saviour's taking his departure from his own we may perhaps also understand Od. Sal. 17, 12-14. It is preceded by the description of the freeing of the prisoners from the dominion of death.

"I poured forth abundantly my knowledge
and my intercession in my love.
I sowed my faith in their hearts
and transformed them through my power.
They received my blessing and became quick,
They flocked to me and were saved."

As is frequently so, in this case also in the Acts of Thomas the Apostle is depicted analogously with the heavenly Messenger; a farewell prayer is put in his mouth, too, in which he looks back on his work.

[1] In the second part of this hymn there follow exhortation ("Take heed for yourselves, my brothers") and promise. In the John-book, c. 47 (pp. 173-175) is constructed on the same plan; but the retrospect ("Out of the Light-region have I come forth . . . " without the following intercession) is shortened and used only as introduction for the exhortations which follow.

[2] For the continuation see p. 315 above.

(C. 144-148; in c. 149 the exhortation is added.) The characteristic passages, in which the Apostle affirms the accomplishment of the work he has been commissioned to do, are quoted on p. 184, above; cp. in addition c. 146 (p. 258, 6ff.): "I planted thy vine in the earth, that it might send forth its roots into the deep and the extension of its branches unto heaven, and that its fruit might be shown on earth and they who are worthy of thee might be gladdened therewith."[1]

21. *As Saviour the Messenger leads away the Saved with him.*

Jn. 12_{32}: "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself."

17_{24}: "Father, that which thou hast given me, I will that, where I am, they also may be with me; that they may behold my glory. . . ."

Adam, the Original Man, is promised, in the Book of the Dead of the Left-hand Genzā I., that he will lead on high the souls from the earth to himself;[2] cp. I2.16: "Thou ascendest to thy region, and thy wife Hawwā [Eve] will ascend after thee; thy whole race will follow after thee."[3] Thus Anōš-Uthra [Enoch] leads up Miryai [the original M. community] to the Light-region (John-book, c. 35, p. 138). Add Mand. Lit., p. 163:

"He ascended and took me up with him,
and left me not behind in the vain dwelling."

Od. Sal. 17 and 42 sing of this deed of the Saviour. Single passages refer to it.

[1] At this point I should like to anticipate deductions drawn at the end of my enquiry; for here it is specially evident that 'John' cannot be the place of origin. Act. Thom. c. 144-148 shows no influence of Jn. 17 (though perhaps of one or two other Johannine passages, and *in any case* strong Synoptic influence); above all, the prayer of intercession recedes entirely (except in the above-quoted passage). Its relationship with Mand. Lit., pp. 190-192, however, should be clear. And as for this Mandæan piece, hardly anyone would venture to derive it from Jn. 17; it is altogether involved in the mythology and—without prejudice of what may turn out to be its later literary composition—represents unquestionably an older type of farewell-prayer of the heavenly Messenger than the prayer in Jn. 17, which is absolutely purged of all mythology and spiritualized, yet whose affinity with the Mandæan piece, chiefly in respect of the rest of the analogies, cannot well be denied.

[2] Reitzenstein, Iran. Erlösungsmyst., p. 48.

[3] Reitzenstein, Das mand. Buch des Herrn d. Gr., p. 29, 2.

Od. Sal. 3, 5f.: "Where his place of rest is,
there also I stay.
I shall be no stranger there,
for with the Lord is no jealousy."

Od. Sal. 31, 4: "He (the Saviour) offered to him (the Highest)
the sons,
who had become [sons] through him."[1]

In Act. Thom. c. 35 (pp. 16ff.) the Apostle promises: "Thou shalt see him and be with him for ever, and shalt rest in his rest and be in his joy."

So also (taking the place of the Messenger) he makes promise in c. 169 (p. 283, 6ff.): "For I departed and received the hoped-for [reward]. But do ye arise and walk, and after no long time ye shall be gathered together to me."

22. *He prepares Dwelling-place for his Own.*

Jn. 14$_{2f.}$: "In my Father's house are many mansions (many abiding-places) . . . And if I go and prepare a place for you, I come again, and will receive you unto myself."

In the Mandæan literature the heavenly dwellings, the shekinahs (škīnās), play a great rôle. Theogonic descriptions are given of the fashioning of countless shekinahs.

[Numerous references are given to the shekinah of Life or of 'First Life'; the Uthras fashion their shekinahs or dwell in them and special shekinahs are mentioned.]

"No one is able to define and describe closely the might (of the Light-king) and the might of all his worlds, or his shekinahs, in which he dwells, and the uthras and kings who abide in them." (G.R. I. 3, p. 7, 14ff.). "The King rejoices in the Sons of Light, and they are proud of him. Their dwellings [lit. buildings] and shekinahs are built of glory and light, their walls of security and stability" (G.R. I. 10, p. 18, 17ff.). When the three uthras, who

[1] Thus is Ps. 68$_{18}$ to be understood in the interpretation of Eph. 4$_{8f.}$; "When he ascended on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men. (Now this, He ascended, what is it but that he also descended into the lower parts of the earth? . . .)."

were sent into the world to fetch the souls of the chosen who are appointed for the house of Light, return, 'the First' says to them: "Go and return to the shekinah, out of which ye have gone forth, to that which the Life hath fashioned for you, the palace of glory and the chamber of Light" (G.R. XI. 257, p. 257, 3ff.); and the promise is made to them: "All the souls, who have had faith in it (Life), shall as souls of piety put to the test be established with you in this great shekinah of Life and in the chamber of Great Life, which I have fashioned for you. Mandā d'Haiyē [Life's Gnosis] will establish you in this shekinah and lead you on high to the house of Life. All the souls too of those formed of flesh and blood who give ear to the voice of Life and have faith, will share in communion with the house of Life" (ib. p. 257, 14ff.). The faithful say to the Messenger: "Thou didst show us the way on which thou didst come from the house of Life. On it will we walk the walk of men faithful and true, so that our spirit and our soul may live in Life's shekinah" (Mand. Lit., pp. 38 and 133).

23. *He has shewn his Own the Way or prepared it for them.*

Jn. 14_4: "And whither I go, ye know the way."

14_6: "I am the way, and the truth, and the life."

Mand. Lit., p. 38: "Thou didst show us the way . . . " (see just above).

Mand. Lit., p. 68: "Thou art the physician . . . thou art the vine. . . . When the worlds arose and the creatures were fashioned, thou didst take hold of the worlds and æons and lay out a way to the region of Light for the men faithful and true."

Mand. Lit., p. 77: "Thou didst show us the way of Life and let us walk in the paths of truth and of faith."

Mand. Lit., p. 132: "Clothe us with thy glory, cover us with thy light and show us the way on which thou didst come from the house of Life."

Among the good gifts which Mandā d'Haiyē brought, the 'way' is mentioned along with the 'sign,' 'baptism' and 'wreath,' in Mand. Lit. p. 44; on p. 106 he is invoked: "Praised be thou, way of the great [ones], path of the perfect, bridge that ascends to Light's region." On p. 139 he is called "the helper, leader, guide to the great region of Light and the Light-dwelling."

G.R. V8. 181, p. 185, 8ff.: "On my path shall the chosen come, the faithful shall walk in my steps" [and various other refs.].

Correspondingly, in the Manichæan hymn (Reitzenstein, Iran. Erlösungsmyst., pp. 23f.), the Messenger promises:

"And I will open for thee the gate into every heaven,
And purge thy path of fear and (trembling).
I will show thee forth in strength and clothe thee in glory,
And lead thee to the abode (of Paradise), the blessed region.
And for ever will I show thee the Father, the sovran. . . .
Ascend, thou soul, and fear no more. . . .
Come up, ascend in joy, without sorrow.
And I will lead thee . . . ."

In M. 32 (F. W. K. Müller, *op. cit.*, 1904, pp. 62f.) Mānī is designated as 'the guide of souls,' in M. 177 (ib. p. 90) as 'my guide.' In the daily prayer of the Manichæans he is invoked as 'our guide.'[1]

In Od. Sal. 38 the heaven-journey of the soul is described; 'truth' 'leads and guides' her and brings her on high on the 'right way' to Life. The hand of the Saviour has (22, 7) 'made plain the way' for the faithful. The one who has become man (7, 13f.) has 'cleared the way for knowledge.' The faithful hastens on 'the way of his peace, the way of truth' (11, 3), for "the Lord showeth his way" (24, 10 [?]).

Act. Thom. c. 10, p. 115, 4ff. (invocation):

"O Envoy that wert sent from the height and came down unto hades,
who didst open the gates and led up thence them that were imprisoned . . .
and didst intimate to them the way above that leads to the height."

Act. Thom. c. 80, p. 196, 6ff.: "Glory and praise to thy ascent onto [*sic*] the heavens; for thereby didst thou trace out for us the ascent of the height . . . Thou art the hidden light of reason, who didst travel the way of truth. . . ."

Act. Thom. c. 156, p. 265, 3ff.: "Thou, who didst descend to hades with great power . . . and didst ascend with great glory, and gathering together all those who take refuge with thee didst

[1] Wetter, Der Sohn Gottes, 1916, p. 38, and other passages.

prepare a way, and in thy footsteps did all tread whom thou didst redeem; and leading them [each] to his own flock, thou didst mingle them with thy sheep."

And so [in a number of passages] Jesus is called the 'guide,' the 'companion of the way' and 'fellow-traveller'; and before his death Thomas prays: "Be thou my leader, as I come to-day to thee" (c. 167, p. 281, 8f.).

In the Acts of John Jesus says: "I am a way for thee a way-farer" (c. 95, p. 198, 13). Alongside of the characteristic attributes in this circle of ideas, 'word,' 'door,' 'bread,' 'seed,' 'pearl,' 'treasure,' 'plough,' 'net,' 'rest,' 'life,' he is also called 'way.'

The doctrine of the [Gnostic] Peratæ according to Hippolytus v. 16 (p. 111, 9ff. Wendl.) runs: "We, who have known the necessity of generation and have been taught exactly the ways whereby the [celestial] Man has entered into the world—we alone are able to pass through and cross over destruction."

In the Naassene hymn (ib. 10, p. 103, 18ff. W.) Jesus says: "With seals will I descend, through all the æons will I make a way; mysteries will I open, and exhibit shapes of gods; the hidden [teachings] of the holy way I will hand on, calling them gnosis."

The terminology is of frequent occurrence in the Heathen gnosis [numerous refs. to Corpus Hermeticum]. Cp. further Reitzenstein, Hellenist. Mysterienrel.,[2] pp. 145f., 148; Stölten, ZNW, 13 (1912), pp. 36 (Nr. 36, 37), 45f. (Nr. 140-143), 47 (Nr. 157-159).

Where the thought dominates, that the way leads over the great rivers which separate the Light-world from the lower spheres, mention is made of the bridge which the Saviour has built, of his footprints which remain firm in the water, also of the ferry which carries the faithful over (John-book c. 55, p. 199; Mand. Lit. pp. 98, 104; Od. Sal. 39; 7, 14). Conversely, the tracks of the demons will be blotted out (Act. Thom. c. 75, p. 190, 13).

24. *He is the Door.*

Jn. 10⁹: "I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall go in and go out, and shall find pasture."

Among the typical attributes of Christ in the Acts of John, as has been already pointed out, appears the 'door.' Between corresponding phrases (ib. c. 95, p. 198, 12f.) there is put into the mouth of Jesus: "I am a door to thee who knockest at me." "Thou didst come and open the gate," we read in Mand. Lit., p. 134. A Manichæan text hymn has just been quoted (p. 328) about opening the gate to every heaven; to this is to be added the Turfan-Fragment T. II. D. 173b, where it is narrated how Chrostag opens the heaven-door for Chormuzta and the five gods (*i.e.* the freed Original Man).[1]

Od. Sal. 17, 10: "Nought was found locked,
for I had become the door for all thing."[2]

Od. Sal. 42, 16f.: "Lead us out of the bonds of darkness,
open to us the gate
through which we come out to thee."

Just as Od. 17, 8ff. describe how the Christ breaks open the doors of the underworld, so in Pistis-Sophia (p. 116, 23 Schm.) we read: "And thou hast broken in pieces the upper gates of the darkness and the mighty bolts of the chaos."

In the Naassene document speculations about the 'gates' are given in much detail; for these Jn. 10⁹ certainly does not constitute the point of departure, but is made use of only as material. Ps. 24[7.9] is referred to the 'ascent' of the Original Man: "Lift up [the] gates, ye rulers of you, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the king of glory shall come in. . . . This entrance and this gate" Jacob saw on the way to Mesopotamia, "and wondered at the heavenly gate, saying: How terrible [is] this place! This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven (Gen. 28[7.17]). On this account Jesus says: I am the true gate (Jn. 10⁹). And he who says these things is the perfect man impressed from above . . . from the unimpressible. Therefore the perfect man cannot . . . be saved unless he be regenerated, entering through this gate" (Hippol. V. 8, p. 92, 16ff., Wendl.; cp. Reitzenstein, Poimandres, p. 92, 3). There is also

[1] Reitzenstein, Iran. Erlösungsmyst., pp. 8f.

[2] In this connection instead of 'door' we should have expected rather 'key'; this indicates that the 'door'-figure has become stereotyped.

further mention of this 'gate'; and in particular the Eleusinian mysteries are explained as the 'gate of heaven.'[1]

25. ***He sets free the Prisoners.***

Jn. 8$_{31f.}$: "... If ye abide in my word, [then] are ye my disciples; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

8$_{36}$: "If therefore the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed."

In the Mandæan texts the setting free of the prisoners through the Messenger is a frequent theme; it is told, if not always as myth, nevertheless always in mythological form, as in the Odes of Solomon.

Texts from the Left-hand Genzā are printed by Reitzenstein (Das Mand. Buch d. Herrn d. Gr., pp. 28-32); add Mand. Lit., pp. 78f. Of the Odes of Solomon, Od. 10, 31 and especially 17 and 49 describe the freeing of the prisoners; songs of thankfulness for being freed are Odd. 21 and 25. A thanksgiving prayer for freedom is also in Act. Thom. c. 142; it begins with the invocation: "O liberator of my soul from the slavery of the many" (p. 249, 1f.). In c. 39 (p. 156, 15ff.) the Apostle himself is addressed: "Thou co-worker of the Son of God, who being free hast become a slave and being sold didst lead many into freedom," just as is Jesus himself in c. 48 (p. 164, 19f.), "who for our sakes art condemned and put in prison and dost free all those that are in bonds." Also the passage already quoted above, p. 328.[2] For the rest the literature on the Descensus should be consulted, especially Bousset ZNW 19 (1919/20), pp. 50-60, and J. Kroll, op. cit. (1922).

26. ***His Journey to Heaven is the Catastrophe of the World.***

Jn. 12$_{31}$: "Now is the judgment of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out. And I, if I be lifted up out of the earth ..."

[1] Cp. Reitzenstein, Iran. Erlösungsmyst. p. 199; ib. pp. 212ff. concerning the 'one at the door.'

[2] Passages from Pistis-Sophia in Stölten, ZNW 13 (1912), p. 57.

Cp. I. Jn. 3^8: "To this end was the Son of God manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil."

Mand. Lit., p. 97: "On the day when the Light ascends, the darkness will return to its region." (Ib. 54, 184.)

Left-hand Genzā I. 2-16: When Adam ascends and his race follow him, "then all the generations come to an end and all the creatures perish. All the springs and seas dry up and the rivers and brooks drain away. The mountains and heights are demolished, fall and subside . . . . When the earth crumbles in ruins, the heaven stands there without stars, . . . all the wicked sink into the depth of the darkness,—then hail to thee, Adam, that thou wast chosen and didst ascend out of the world of the angels (the evil angels, rulers or the Seven) and the suffering of this world" (Reitzenstein, Mand. Buch d. Herrn d. Gr., pp. 29, 2).

John-book c. 14, p. 61f.: The heavenly envoy proclaims to Šum-Kušṭā [Shem]: "Leave the world without delay; then let fire seize upon it and destroy it. Let ruin carry off this world [the Tibil], when the perfect leave it."

Thus the heaven-journey of Enōš is at the same time the judgment on Jerusalem, G.L. xv. 11 (Reitz. M. B. p. 33f.[1]).

Alexander of Lycopolis informs us with regard to the Manichæan system: God sends a power, the 'soul,' into "matter," "in order that it may become entirely mingled with matter,—with the thought that if in the future the two should have again to separate, it would mean the death of matter." (Reitz., Psyche, p. 6.)

In the Manichæan Turfan-Fragment M. 10 (Reitz., M. B., pp. 46f.) Mānī is praised: "Three things have been entrusted to thee to accomplish: Thou shalt annihilate death, smite down the foes and put on the whole Light of paradise. Thou didst render worship, and thou art ascended to (? the Light), and thou hast put on the whole Light of paradise. The terrible (?) prince (?) was bound (for ever) and the dwelling of darkness destroyed."

Setting-free of the prisoners and destruction of the world coincide also in the eschatology of the Kantæans according to Theodore bar Khôni (Reitz., M. B., p. 28).

[1] Cp. further R., Iran. Er. pp. 55f., 60, 122, 131f.

27. *He is the Judge.*

How that the preaching of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel contains promises and threats need not be supported by separate passages. It is he by whom the fate of the hearers is decided. As the decision is made in their attitude to his preaching (3$^{17-21}$, 12$^{47f.}$), there is no need of any special eschatology, and yet it is intelligible that fair hopes in the future and in a new, other, 'coming' of Jesus are cherished.

Jn. 14^{19}: "Yet a little while, and the world beholdeth me no more; but ye behold me: because I live and ye shall live."

14^{23}: "If a man love me, he will keep my word: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him" (also 16$^{16-22}$[1]).

So also is the case in the Mandæan and cognate literature; in it, too, two eschatologies abundantly intersect,—into the positively decisive event, the proclamation of the Messenger, there enters nevertheless the expectation of a definite eschatology, which generally is not so spiritualized as in the Fourth Gospel.

Promising and threatening are found in the discourses of the John-book c. 11 and 57, and in G.R. II3. 64-66. The following passages perhaps are specially to be compared:

Mand. Lit., p. 222: "I will slay the wicked
and hurl them into the end of the world."

Mand. Lit., pp. 212f.: "When will my Lord come
from thee, thou victorious height?
That he may raise my head from my knees
and dry my eyes from tears. . . .
Yet did my Lord come

[1] I conjecture that the Paraclete, whom Jesus promises to his own, corresponds to the Mandæan figure of the 'Helper' (Yāwar); though I do not yet venture to say anything positively on the point.

out of thee, thou victorious height . . .
He spake: [1]
Wherefore weepest thou, my daughter
Kuštā? . . .
At thy time and thy term ascend
and behold the Light's region."

Mand. Lit., pp. 135f.: "Early will I come, fly thither and reach the sons of my name, the sons of my sign, the sons of the great race of Life. I will join you to communion with Life, build you into the great building of Truth and bring you forth to the great region of Light and the radiant dwelling."

In G.R. XI. 270 (p. 268, 4ff.) Mandā d'Haiyē [Life's Gnosis] promises the 'little Anōš' [Enoch]: "Lo, I go now to the house of Life; then will I come and free thee from the wicked and sinners of this world. . . . I will rescue thee from sword, fire and waterfloods and lead thee up above on the way in which Hibil [Abel] the righteous and Šitil [Seth] and Mandā d'Haiyē ascend out of this world of the wicked."

With the judgment-sermon we may compare also the proclamation of the Samaritan prophet which Celsus, in Origen c. C. VII. 9 (p. 161, 6ff. Koetsch.), renders:

"I am God or child of God or divine Spirit.

"And I have come; for now is the world being destroyed, and ye, O men, are undone through unrighteousness. But I would save. And ye shall see me again returning with heavenly power.

"Blessed art thou who dost now worship me. But on all the rest will I cast fire everlasting, both on the cities and lands. And men who do not know their own redemptions, shall repent in vain and groan. But they who give ear unto me, I will preserve for ever."

Add the judgment-sermon of 'Wisdom' in Prov. $1_{23\text{-}33}$ and the sequel quoted on p. 319: above all, the sermon of the 'pure virgin' in Od. Sal. 33, and from it in particular vv. 11f.:

"Through me shall ye be redeemed and blessed,
for I am your judge.
They who put me on, shall take no injury,
but shall possess the new incorruptible world."

[1] This must be the reading and not 'they spake.'

Also Od. Sal. 42, 3-6:

"I become of no use to them who lay not hold on me,[1]
but I come to them who love me.
Dead are all my persecutors,
but they who take me for living seek after me.
For I am arisen and am with them
and discourse through their mouth."

28. *He is the Son of Man.*

Jn. $3_{13f.}$: "And no man hath ascended into heaven but . . . the Son of man.

"And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up."

6_{62}: "[What] then if ye should behold the Son of man ascending where he was before?"

8_{28}: "When ye have lifted up the Son of man, then shall ye know that I am [he].

$12_{32, 34}$: "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself. . . . We have heard out of the law that the Christ abideth for ever: and how sayest thou, The Son of man must be lifted up?"

12_{23}: ". . . The hour is come, that the Son of man should be glorified."

5_{27}: "And he gave him authority to execute judgment, because he is Son of man."

With the Mandæans at times the 'First Man' (*Mann*) is mentioned by name (Mand. Lit., p. 3; Adam also is called the 'First Man,' ib. pp. 54, 60); but the 'Man' (*Mensch*), or alternatively Original Man (*Urmensch*) is not.[2] Nevertheless the figure of the Original Man, which we know from Iranian and Gnostic tradition, is present in the Mandæan sources, above all in the Left-hand Genzā, though influenced

[1] I here deviate from Gressmann's version.

[2] Cp. Bousset, Hauptprobleme der Gnosis, pp. 176f.

by Jewish Adam-legends.[1] What is here related of Adam,—viz. that he is the Pure, Chosen [one], has taken his seat in this world, but kept himself separated from it, that he will one day ascend and lead away the souls with him, while the world is destroyed,—corresponds to the Man-(Anthrōpos)-myth; just as Adam as bearer of the original revelation corresponds to the Adam-Original Man of the Pseudo-Clementines.[2]

With the Manichæans the Original Man, as we know, plays a great rôle,[3]—sometimes distinguished from Ormuzd, sometimes identical with him. The whole of the complicated history which this figure has had, I cannot set forth here, but would refer the reader to Bousset's and Reitzenstein's researches. The decisive point for our connection is that: While the figure of the Son of Man in the Synoptic Gospels is manifestly derived from Jewish apocalyptic, in which it has already lost definite features, in the Fourth Gospel the statements about the Son of Man show fully precisely the distinctive features of the Man-(Anthrōpos)-myth:

1. The Son of Man is pre-existent and has come from heaven.
2. He is exalted (the exaltation is to be sharply distinguished from the resurrection).
3. The fate of the faithful is bound up with his fate (in so far as they shall be exalted from the state of lowliness).
4. He is the judge.

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[1] Reitzenstein, Iran. Erlösungsmyst., p. 48.

[2] ['The Man' is the general synonym for the Messenger, a hundred times repeated, in the John-book and Liturgies; and if 'son of man' is the Greek literal translation of the Aramaic idiom which means 'man' simply, the similarity of diction is instructive.—Tr.]

[3] Already noted in Bousset, op. cit., pp. 177-181.

THE BRUISED APPLE OF THE CIDER-MYSTERY.

A. Cameron-Taylor.

In continuation of the theme of 'The Apple Mystery-Play,' which appeared in the last number, an attempt will now be made to justify the thesis that it is "an over-written fragment of a Pagan ritual celebrating the 'passion' of a Cider-god."

Let us first call to mind the tree-cults of North-Western and Central Europe, evoking, to begin with, a general image of their origin and background.

The deadly nature of the struggle for life waged by our primeval ancestors must never be forgotten. The dice were heavily loaded against them. Unprotected from heat, cold and rain; surrounded by monstrous animals; no fires at first, no tools, no houses; badly equipped personally: thin skinned, furless, their sole weapons both of offence and defence most inadequate teeth and nails; their only assets were their upright posture, their hands, their brains, and their indomitable will-to-live. Nevertheless, they battled through, and laid the foundations on which we not only continue to build, but by which our so-called *original* social building is still controlled, and that up to its airiest pinnacles. In time their difficulties came to be chiefly connected with food. They could fairly certainly provide themselves with shelter, covering, and warmth; but when it came to food, they depended largely on

the caprices of things over which they had no control: corn that blackened where it stood; fruit trees that shed their unripe fruit without rhyme or reason; a sun that grew and grew in strength, and then unaccountably dwindled, and would undoubtedly have died away (so they thought) had they not been able to revive him with magic rites and the vitality of living things: vegetable, animal and human.

As Europe was densely wooded, our predecessors lived largely in clearings in forests, their huts frequently grouped about a large tree (a fruit-tree if possible: oak, beech, or apple), which provided the shelter under which tribal business was transacted, justice done, sacrifices made, and magic rituals performed. It was the tribal temple; nay more, it was the god himself,—at once symbol, sustainer, and vital principle of the tribal life. It was adored,—but also managed, *forced* even, by magic rites. It was propitiated, also; or better—*vitalized* by gifts charged with magic. And what were these gifts? Naturally such things as the donors themselves would like to receive; and this, both because they understood their value and wished to please, and also because necessity (magic necessity) compelled the return of similar gifts,—but better and more of them.

"Whatever, Lord, we give to Thee
Repaid a thousand-fold will be.
Then gladly will we give to Thee,
Who givest all!"

So we; so they!

But there was another motive: the well-being of the tribe and countryside, which was believed to depend on the vitality of the Tree. It was, therefore,

everyone's interest to give the Tree magic life and more magic life. Its worshippers gave it fruits and vegetables (the things we present to-day at a harvest-festival), but other things too: the captives of their nets (fish, birds and animals); women, also, and children; the best of their prisoners of war, brave strong men possessing just such qualities as would be assets to the tribe; their own priests and kings, moreover, for *their* magic wisdom and potency were needed to re-inforce those of the Tree: the magic tribal Power-station.

What was offered was always life: life to life; like-life to like-life. For the magic life of the sacrifice was destined to become one with the magic life of the Tree. And for this reason the body of the thing sacrificed was generally closely connected with the body of the Tree,—hung from its boughs, bound to its trunk, even nailed to it. And further, as the magic life of the animal was believed to lie in its life-blood, the effusion of blood was made as great as possible. The sacrifice was cut, and slashed, and sometimes pierced by spear-thrusts, as is recorded in those strange verses in the *Havermal*, in which Odin describes his sacrifice of himself by which he acquired divine powers:

"I know that I hung on the windy Tree
For nine whole nights;
Wounded by the Spear; dedicated to Odin;
Myself to myself."

It was all very barbarous and primitive. Naturally so: men were barbarous and primitive. Dreadful things were officially done under the spreading Tree, hideous scenes of cruelty and lust enacted, or what seem so to us now. One has only to recall what lies behind the myths of Osiris, of Attis, of Dionysos, or behind certain

Indian ritual legends (to mention classic examples only) to be aware of this. These horrible things, however, were quite right at the time. They were steps from animalism to a modified animalism,—stages in the evolution of the human soul; experiments. Men learned from them, and got beyond them. However squalid, moreover, these embryonic cults may have been, their very existence lifts man, for good or evil, out of the category of the 'mere' animal. What beast has ever shown the most rudimentary consciousness of the divinity which animates natural objects? Who has ever heard of the worship by baboons of the cocoa-nut palms by which they live? No. Their eyes are holden. They divine not the giver; they ignore the sacrament.

From this general background, let us pass to the examination of the middle distance,—to the relation of the mediæval Central European countryside (the inheritor of the primitive traditions at which we have glanced) to its trees. It will illuminate the mentality which produced the ritual De Guilleville has embalmed.

On this subject W. Mannhardt (*Wald- u. Feldkulte*) is a mine of knowledge. We learn from him that during the Middle Ages protected trees fell into three groups: (1) sacred groves, which, as such, were looked on, not simply as haunted holy places, but as congeries of Beings, sacrosanct depositories of magic vitality, on whom the welfare of the country-side and its inhabitants depended; (2) trees planted to define boundaries, which not only served this purpose, but acted as magic tribo-political spiritual bulwarks; (3) certain isolated single trees, whose magic power was concentrated in smaller areas,—village-guardians, homestead-protectors, family-trees, and the life-tree of individuals. All these

trees were thought of anthropomorphically, in the sense in which children think anthropomorphically, —*i.e.*, as Beings, in tree-form certainly, but with the nerves and passions of men, who bled when wounded, and knew anger and pleasure. They were defended by laws founded on the same principle as those protecting men ('an eye for an eye'); but as the fear of the anger of a magic tree was greater than that inspired by the wrath of a simple man, these laws were more cruel, and more rigidly enforced. The Letts, for instance, together with many Germanic tribes, punished a man who cut a ring round the trunk of a tree (a vital wound), by cutting out his navel and nailing it to the injured stem. The poor wretch was then forced to run round and round the tree until the part he had laid bare was entirely covered by a bandage made of his own intestines (*op. cit.* i. 77ff.). The punishment allotted to a man who destroyed a fruit-tree, was even more horrible, and, moreover, physiologically apposite. The man who cut away the poll of an oak, lost his own head, which was nailed to the bare top of the decapitated tree-stem. And so on.

So thoroughly were these barbarous customs part and parcel, warp and woof, of the mediæval rural mentality that they not only got themselves into later statute-books, but held their place there, in one instance at any rate, as late as the 18th century, being quoted as still operative in a book on forest-rights in use on a Hanoverian nobleman's estate in 1720 (Mannhardt, *op. cit.* p. 27).

In the beginning, like all other rudimentary systems of law, these atrocities were not thought of only as punishments proper, but as acts of restitutionary justice, valuable on account of their magic

efficacy. The idea was not so much revenge as re-establishment, propitiation, and re-vitalization. The tree, for instance, which lost its head and got a human head instead, could hardly have been conceived otherwise than as a gainer by the exchange. In time, however, these justiciary magic acts were recognized as atrocities by the more civilized. During the long years of the gradual christianization of Northern and Central Europe their perpetration sharpened the indignant swords and spears of the knightly German military monks, who had undertaken the conversion of their heathen neighbours, and who, in the process, struck fiercely at the 'holy things' of the faith they had sworn to extirpate, cutting down sacred groves and destroying holy trees on principle (*ib.* p. 30). As may be imagined, our Tree-worshippers offered a stout resistance to the destruction of the trees on whose vitality they believed their national life to depend, and naturally inflicted the traditional penalties on Christian tree-destroyers when captured: the loss of their virility and of their internal organs, the virtues of which, *ex hypothesi*, went to the credit of the injured tree-dæmon and the tribe it protected. The Knight-monks, in their turn, retaliated *in kind;* their action, however, being motived by revenge, not magic. And thus the process of christianization was accomplished in an atmosphere of reciprocal barbarity.

During this struggle between primitive autochthonous cults and invading Christianity the sight of a man nailed or bound to a tree, which, bathed in his magically vitalizing blood, was a source of life to the whole countryside, must have been well known to the rural population; and we are still familiar with its lineal descendant, the Crucified Christ, which is so

moving and picturesque a feature of many continental landscapes.

Gradually, however, Christianity won the day. Country after country ranged itself officially behind the banner of the Cross. From the 7th century onward Church Council after Church Council fulminated against the worship of trees dedicated to dæmons. In the 8th century, soon after the christianizing of Saxony, the worship of trees and springs was declared illegal in that country. In the 10th, King Edgar (959-975) prohibited the cult of trees in England; which prohibition was repeated by Canute some forty years later. About the same time various German Archbishops organized regular campaigns against the 'holy trees' in their dioceses.

The official victory remained with Christianity; but a real belief thrust forcibly out of a door is notoriously apt to return through the window. As a matter of fact *force majeure* and a little holy water did not suffice to banish beliefs bred into the very bone-marrow of a countryside by the fears and experiences of untold generations. Pagan practices and the beliefs which inspired them continued to exist. Indeed, in outlying places, they are not unknown at the present day. In view of their tenacity of life we should expect that these tree-rituals would be adopted by the Church, in accordance with her usual wise practice of tolerating and transmuting that which she could not destroy. Nor are we disappointed. As notable examples of this policy we would point to: the choice of December 25, the date of the great Pagan festival of the Winter Solstice and revival of the sun, for the celebration of the Christian festival of the birth of the 'Sun of Righteousness'; the arranged coincidence

of the Christian Easter festival with that of the Pagan celebration of the re-birth of life in Springtime, and to the merging of the two Celtic feasts dedicated to the Dead and to Ancestors in the Catholic Festivals of All Saints and All Souls, which Sir James Frazer characterizes as the idealizations of ecclesiastical failures to eradicate Pagan festivals embodying very ancient cults of the dead.[1]

Even in England to-day vulgarized and attenuated vestiges of the once terrible rites by which the goddess of fertility was wooed by her worshippers still exist; and sometimes in our children's games we catch flickering glimpses of what once had tragic import. In our cider-counties[2] it was customary even quite recently for the farmer, his wife, children, and labourers to visit the largest tree in the orchard on Christmas Eve (the eve of the Winter Solstice). The party took with them lanterns, torches, cowhorns, sticks, cudgels, and a bowl of specially prepared cider-cup. Moving rhythmically, hand in hand, they encircled the chosen tree, singing the following fertility-charm:

"Stand fast, root!
Bear well, top!
Pray God send us
A good yuling crop!
Every twig, apples big!
Every bough, apples enou'!
Hats full, caps full,
Three-bushel sacks full.
Holla, boys! Holla! Huzza!"

[1] *G. B.* ii. 316-18. These feasts were first recognized in France by the Benedictine Abbot of Cluny in 998, in Germany in 835, and in England in the preceding century.

[2] See Dr. Rendel Harris' valuable monograph *Origin and Meaning of the Apple-Cults*, Manchester, University Press, 1919.

During the singing of this magic formula, cowhorns were blown to awaken the tree-dæmon. When the words: 'Three-bushel sacks full' were shouted, all the wassailers stooped three times to the ground, making as though they were lifting heavy sacks of apples: acts of sympathetic magic dating from the day when men, being almost inarticulate, expressed themselves by mime rather than by speech.

Then the patriarch of the family, advancing, drank to the tree, ceremonially, from the high-uplifted cider-bowl. Its contents were cider with toast floating in it and roasted apples,—*i.e.* apples and bread which had been mystically purified through the action of fire, the arch-sublimator. Cider from the same bowl was poured upon the tree-trunk, to which roasted apples and toast were also 'offered' and then attached by nails or rope. As Dr. Rendel Harris says: "The Tree is regarded as capable of participation with its worshippers in two species. The offering is shared between the Divinity and the worshippers, and the offering is the Divinity. Every side of sacrificial communion is here represented."

But while this magic rite was being performed, the peaceful atmosphere was suddenly broken in upon by violence. To the accompaniment of a tumult of cries, the banging of trays, the clashing of saucepans, a group of men, rushing in, overwhelmed the tree-trunk with blows, and another group fired a salvo (originally of arrows[1]) into the branches. In the primitive ceremony it was at this moment that the ritual murder

[1] St. Sebastian came to be the Christian successor to this Pagan victim and figures in the many altar-pieces dedicated to the 'Queen of the Orchard,' of which the noblest examples are perhaps the great Crevellis of the National Gallery: Nos. 724 and 807. The legendary shooting by William Tell of the apple on his boy's head has its roots also in this apple-tree ritual.

took place: the human sacrifice (afterwards replaced by the cider-apple), probably already "attached to the tree," was now riddled by arrows, pierced by a spear, "beaten and tormented," so that his blood, running to the earth, should become very medicine to the roots of the Apple-tree, giving her "myghte and strength, longer to endure, and more profitable to be," as De Guilleville has it. Sometimes an effigy of Christ was introduced into this ritual and nailed to the tree; and sometimes a representation of the Madonna: later accretions these, and important as obviously the outcome of the christianizing spirit which animates our French Mystery-Play.

What else is known of this English Apple-tree ritual? We know that in time the place of the unhappy human victim came to be taken by a bird,—the robin, the bird who wears the red and brown livery of the thunder-cloud or the meteoric stone; and that this substitution is recorded in more than one of our so-called nursery-rhymes. Of these the most important is the friend of our youth 'Who killed Cock Robin?' in which it seems to me that a very significant version of the ritual is preserved. We learn from it that the performers of the ritual-sacrifice, fearful of being held responsible for the necessary bloodshed, disguised themselves as animals to whom, in case of discovery, the guilt of the crime might be attributed,—a common practice in antiquity.[1] (The most famous guilt-bearing animal is the Scapegoat.) What is recorded in this corrupt and mutilated rhyme is a piece of reasoned ritual-mummery, the animals selected for

[1] This subject has just been treated very fully and with his usual perspicuity and learning by Dr. Robert Eisler, in his *Orphisch-dionysische Mysterien-gedanken in der Christlichen Antike* (Leipzig, 1925), 'Tiermasken,' pp. 255ff.

representation being chosen for their legendary qualifications.

"Who killed Cock Robin?
I, said the sparrow,
With my bow and arrow,
I killed Cock Robin."

I would suggest that the word 'sparrow' denotes the sparrow-hawk, a very suitable leader for the firing-party which shot the victim bound to the tree: the 'Cock Robin,' whose Christian equivalent is Saint Sebastian.

"Who saw him die?
I, said the fly,
With my little eye,
I saw him die."

The fly, the prying fly, the busy buzzing intruding curious fly, the *Bel-hazub* fly-dæmon so detestably associated with death and corruption, was regarded in ancient folklore as a death-elemental, and was therefore most suitably selected as a death-witness.

"Who caught his blood?
I, said the fish,
With my little dish,
I caught his blood."

Here we have a testimony to the ritual murder, together with the ceremonial collection of the sacramental blood. And to whom could the task be more suitably allotted than to the Fish,—the phallic emblem of life: hence, by easy stages, the Lord of Life; hence, again, as representative of that Lord, the Priest of Life.[1] What an amazing scene to take place in our quiet country-

[1] Eisler, *Orpheus the Fisher*, London, 1921, pp. 256-264, pl. xvi.: the atter represents two Babylonian Priests officiating apparelled as fish.

side: the farm people, disguised as animals, collected about an apple-tree on Christmas Eve, in order to secure a good harvest by sacrificing a human being!

And now, let us endeavour to penetrate to the faint traces of the Pagan ritual underlying the Christian mystery embodied in De Guilleville's epic, and this in the light of what we know of the general worship in Central Europe of trees as the vehicles or persons of tribal deities, and of the tremendous penalties with which offences against them were visited; and also with due regard to the overwhelming importance attached to those trees and plants like the ash, the apple, and, in the south, the vine, whose 'juices' lifted those who partook of them into a psychic state then interpreted as divine possession.

To do so is difficult. It was easy for the writer of the play to make a synthesis of the Semitic or Sumerian myth of the Fall, the Christian myths and folk-lore that gathered about it, and of a local tree-ritual; for all three were rooted in the natural tree-worship of the primæval forest-dweller. These three cognate currents slip into one another easily. The difficulty lies in disentangling the third element from the other two. There are, however, certain phrases, certain significant images, which do not fit into a Biblical frame-work, but seem to be born of a fruit-tree ritual. Such are, for instance:

(1.) The attribution of the ruin of the Tree of Knowledge to the eating of its fruit '*out of time*'; the underlining of the 'inconvenience of the season' at which it was plucked, in defiance of the tabu protecting unripe fruit. Indeed there is much evidence showing that both in East and West such tabus made the inauguration of any harvest a dangerous matter.

(2.) The insistence on the publicity of the act of redemption. It was part of the potency of the magic rite, that the redeemer should be "tatched to the tree" and "fastened to it with nayles," in such a manner that all who went by should see that the crime had been expiated which had brought a curse on the country-side.

(3.) The innocence of the sacrificial victim is insisted on. This was an all-important asset: innocent blood was superlatively redemptive. Naturally so: it had the magic power of transforming the guilty life to its own pure likeness. This is the idea underlying all blood-offering, from its lowest manifestations to its highest: the Christian sacrament.

(4.) Magico-horticultural is the idea that, when the victim has been sacrificed on the tree, "beten, tormented, and broken, pierced with nayles, and tatched upon it, the juice that issueth from his body and runneth to the erthe shall be very medicine to its roots," lending it "myte and strength, longer to endure, and more profitable to be." This is true vegetation-magic, supported, moreover, by horticultural experience, for blood is a powerful fertiliser.

(5.) The idea that bloody sacrifice is agreeable to the great Tree-deity is in the true magical tradition. When the ritual is consummated, "God that sees and that holdeth himself greatly offended (by the spoyling of the tree) shall highly be appeased," writes De Guilleville.

(6.) The image of the Apple as so cruelly beaten that the juice should "issuen forth, with the *forme of his own bodye*," would appear to describe rather the crushing of the cider-apple than the chastisement of a human being.

(7.) In the poem the victim is openly keened by his mother: a woman among her neighbours. In this connection I very tentatively suggest that the sacrificial victim was sometimes a beloved son of the tribe, nay, even a hero, who offered himself a willing victim to be martyred in the presence of his family:

"My child that here is,
His cote hath torn, for your guilt, not for his.
And all his blood is shed in great abundance.
And all is, lo! for your redemption."

(*From the Fr.*)

(8.) Significant also is the fact that he was sacrificed in a state of ritual nakedness. The Mother cries:

"Hé, sweet, my Son, I will speak to thee,
Thee, whom I fed, and rocked
So gently in my arms.
Now, I see thee there naked,
Everywhere exposed, uncovered,
Even thy heart on view
Thro' the rent in thy bleeding side.
And that in full day-light
With the neighbours standing round."

(*She turns to the Sun:*)

"Hé, High Sun, it is mid-day, and my son hangs
Naked! Draw thy dark curtain!"

(*She turns to the Earth:*)

"Hé, Earth, how canst thou bear sustain
The Tree, on which he hangs?"

(*From the Fr.*)

(9.) There still remains one strange incident which can belong *only* to a pre-cider-harvest ritual. We know that all immature fruits were protected by a tabu, the breaking of which, even when harvest-time came, was highly dangerous; death, the penalty of even the priestly tabu-breaker acting in the exercise of his sacerdotal functions, being averted in many cases only by ingenious subterfuge.[1] How is the difficulty dealt with here?

"So the time came," it says, "that separacion should be made between the swete Appyl and the Appyl-tree. . . . And so it was . . . that it fell to Erthe without any hurtyinge of the fayre Tree. *And when it had tarried there a convenable time . . . execution was done.*" Here we have clearly the last act in the pre-harvest ritual. *No one dared to outrage the tabu and pick the first Apple.* It was arranged, therefore (by the experienced ritualist conducting the ceremony), that at the right moment it should fall to earth. *And there it lay, the divine sacrificial 'thing,' and none so gross as dared to do it violence.* A subtle touch. In time, however, this self-oblation was consummated by the 'agony,'—the crushing cider-making process.

". . . . . My bruised Apple
. . . hath been beaten and torn;"

cries the mother, now fully christianized and representing the Church, the guardian of the Mysteries:

"From his body poureth juice in floods.
Drink! drink! for nothing is more sweet.
Drink! make yourself drunken of his love."

(*From the Fr.*)

[1] Eisler, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-268.

Very powerful must have been the effect of such a Christmas mystery-play on the yokels, who, familiar with the old-world Pagan ritual, witnessed its performance on one of their visits to their market-town. Why, surely, they must have thought, this is only a town-form of our own apple-harvest-ritual! So this is what they call Christianity! Awe-struck they must have passed into the cathedral-aisles: forest glades in stone. How familiar it all was. Above the rood hung the Redeeming Man nailed to the Tree. In the midst of the twinkling candles on the high altar was the 'Queen of the Orchard,' her throne garlanded with fruit, as in the great altarpiece by Crevelli in the National Gallery. On her knees was the Child, and in his hand was the mystic sacrificial cider-apple, the apple which was his very self.

"Sitherly, the Appyl nought avayleth while it is kepte, but when it is broken, then shall it refreshen moche folke that have part thereof."

A. CAMERON-TAYLOR.

(Read before The Quest Society, Feb. 26, 1925.)

FIRST STEPS IN THE HITHER HEREAFTER.

THE EDITOR.

OUR restless, changeful age is, to all seeming, on the threshold of what may prove, within its own measures, to be a very great adventure. Many to-day are beginning to become acquainted, directly or indirectly, with the misty borderland the other side that "bourne from which," as Elizabethan verse so tritely has it, "no traveller returns." Trite, familiar, potent in gnomic authority as it is, these same 'many' to-day (if they know their Goethe) regard this interminably quoted Shakespearean 'tag' as pure *Dichtung* and anything but *Wahrheit*. For these 'many' have had at times glimpses perhaps of once familiarly known forms, whose gross material stuff has been abandoned to decay, or have caught echoes of voices speaking as once did those they have loved and 'lost'—and not only of such well-remembered ones, but of many others they have known slightly or have never known at all.

This may seem strange, nay, utterly false, to the vaster 'many'; but, as matter of sober fact, I write with the pen of caution and restraint when I speak of 'glimpses' and 'echoes,'—of grey dimmings or darker outlines of a shadowland, thin whisperings or confused noises heard, as it were, in an ill-tuned receiver. For all this is comparative solely. It is metaphor transferred from the familiar language of our

normal sphere of relativity, our general waking consciousness. But, while the verbal correspondence is with the fleeting half-dream state between deep sleep and waking, it relates in truth to a scheme of things on a far wider scale and far more definite and vital, as countless rumours tell.

No few of us who are attentive to present-day research into psychical phenomena, are confident that we are now witnessing the embryonic beginnings of what promises to develop some day into a great scientific discipline,—to say nothing of deeper issues. The whole matter in itself, when sympathetically considered, is indeed so far-reaching in its very nature, that, in our present state of knowledge, it offends against the principle of economy to be spendthrift with our metaphorical vocabulary and superlative adjectives, when trying to describe what is but its most elementary stage. For if we are here too lavish, we shall be left bankrupt of fit figures and colours in which to conjecture the may-be of its future development. If the voice of unbalanced enthusiasm starts its speech *fortissimo*, it must necessarily shout itself hoarse as it proceeds, so that what it has to say later on becomes as unimpressive as the popular demagogic oratory of the 'Parks.' To use language about the beginning of the way as though it were the end of the journey is the verbiage of facile cocksureness, and not the sober speech of well-grounded conviction. There has been, and is still, among the easily moved, too much of this. Yet is it quite natural and understandable; for when 'just-so' people are deeply affected, they do not pick and choose their words, and 'spiritualism,' as it is not very happily called, in its simplest forms is ungainsayably of the people.

The present paper of suggestion, let it be said at once, is not addressed to those who think themselves far wiser than their fellows or to academic aristocrats. It is not intended for the cold radical sceptic and *à priori* theoretical negationist. Such a one must of necessity be kept strictly to the range of such 'objective' phenomena as are patient of strictly physical scientific control,—abnormal or paranormal physical mediumistic happenings and their tests. It is not even accommodated to the requirements of those who confine their attention to the 'evidential' side of 'subjective' psychical research,—that is to say, to that mental class of such phenomena as are patient of controllable objective data, from which the persistence of personal identity after death may be inferred. It rather ventures to speak of some matters that, in the nature of things, cannot be 'proved,' or in any way checked even, by those who are limited to the normal range of sense. What I have to say is addressed rather to those who are not only already persuaded, by previous study and experiment, that 'veridical' 'communication' between the 'two worlds' is quite a reasonable possibility, theoretically, but who also in some case or cases within their own experience are convinced that it has actually occurred, and that, too, both in spite of their prior legitimate doubts, and also in full acquaintance with all the other stock 'explanations' that may be urged to the exclusion of the 'spirit-hypothesis.' That is to say, that they have honestly found, on the soberest reflection they can bring to bear on the subject, that all alternative hypotheses,—such as unconscious wish-fulfilment, mental self-projection, telepathy from the minds or memories of the living exclusively, collective psychoid

of the subconscious of the sitters, etc.,—for them put a greater strain on their powers of credulity than does the simple, straight-forward fact of their having been in contact with a 'mind' that is known to them to be no longer possessed of a 'physical body.' And by this I mean, not that there is any notion here of contact with a naked intelligence utterly divorced from embodiment of every kind,—but certainty of being in touch with a mind functioning, through some invisible organism or other, more or less as do the minds we know here working through a physical brain. The 'communicator' is simply no longer using the visible gross physical carapace, which is so generally assumed to be the *only* form of embodiment we possess.

The scope of the phenomena on which I propose to suggest a systematic mode of enquiry to those thus convinced, is limited to such communications as purport to reflect the conditions of the Hither Hereafter most proximate to our earthly existence. It is, therefore, concerned solely with the problem of the nature of the 'content' of a certain class of statements, and that, too, with the most ordinary of these. There is nothing sublime about it: it is all very human and, within its own field, quite ordinary.

The sublimities of the ultimate possibilities that may inhere in the depths of the human soul, and which have been sung of and lauded by exponents of high mystical religious states and the doctrines of spiritual philosophy, do not here come into question. I am always amazed, and sometimes enthralled, by what I have come to learn of the boundless aspirations of the human spirit to become either in fellowship with, or like unto, or at one with God, as the absolute origin and end and utter reality of all possible universes and

their creatures. It nevertheless seems to me that the vast majority of us, even if some such ideal forms part of our faith, are very far indeed from any adequate, far less from any practical, conception of what so tremendous an aspiration must, in the nature of things, connote or entail. In the past, it has been generally far more easy for the mind of the believer to rest in the faith of such a consummation being humanly possible than it is to-day; for the knowledge of the vastitude of the physical universe, and of the nature of its processes, was in days gone by exceedingly limited, compared with the patent facts which we are now compelled to take into account. We have to-day also to strive to conjecture what stupendous reality must inhere in a universe of life and mind commensurate with such known physical immensities. And God is ever more than and beyond all we dare thus to think, or imagine or feel after. I am myself inclined to believe, in the face of such high theory, that actual sympathetic concrete contact with a mind or 'personality'—to use that much-abused term—of any class of being even one degree higher than that of our humanity would be a 'divine' experience for all of us, and for most of us for long an all-fulfilling one. Yet though thus compelled to think, seemingly in all good reason of the head, there are reasons of the heart, as Pascal called them, which force us in our deepest moments to fall back on that inmost centre of our being, which laughs at the limitations of our earthly time and space, and would bid us yearn for God, and God alone, in inwardness of spirit, as the only absolute certainty, the final refuge,—for there is much subtle self-deception on this path. 'Inmost' and 'inwardness'—yes; nevertheless it would be an error to think that

Deity, or the Divine Rule or Kingship, the familiar 'Kingdom of Heaven,' is 'within' in any spatial or even mental sense. 'Within' and 'without' are reciprocal modes of our present limited existence: both are necessary to our well-being; and the 'outer' element of our *polarized existence* in all its phases (which is what the most acute Indian thinkers mean by *māyā*—our subject-object state),—the 'outer' co-ordinate surely cannot be avoided or skipped. The ground of progressive realization should then presumably be looked for in the balancing or harmonizing of our introversive and extraversive life- and mind-modes. All this indeed is not ill-understood by thoughtful modern lovers of high mystic ways. But these are not our present theme. We are concerned with far lowlier issues; yet let us not despise these lowlier things. For what good reason is there to prevent our believing that Divine Wisdom, watching over the universe, and every tiniest event in it, is never surprised, or disappointed, or grieved, or wrathful over the workings of the works of every class and degree of its own creative activity,—seeing that 'what is' is purposed throughout? The natural habit of the primitive man to project his own thoughts and passions into his idea of God (of which the earliest documents of the Bible afford so striking an example) is, for the thoughtful of our day, the work of little minds. Nevertheless the 'primitive' is still always very much with us, even in these imagined days of enlightenment; and genuine philosophers and deeply experienced mystics are hard to find. Yet it may well be that the vast majority of our human folk, who are contented with things as they appear, and to which they have grown used, are not after all departing so very far from

the life-intention of their gradual progress in the vast process, within and without, even if they fail at present to respond to what in rare cases seems to be the over-mastering urge to finality of very exceptional religious heroism.

Hitherto religions of culture for the most part have here led their adherents to expect so great a change in after-death conditions, that all natural sequence with our present state seems to be discountenanced. This has been especially the case with the religion of the West. We, who have been born into Christianity, and have absorbed it automatically and mechanically at our mother's knee, have all been brought up on the unquestioned ideas of a 'great gulf' and of a state of affairs after the death of the body utterly divorced from all earthly or secular occupations and interests of any kind—angels and devils galore, and quaint symbolic figures of mythologic *naïveté*, but little of the purely human and natural. What is offered, and dogmatically taught, to the people in this respect has been for the most part little better than a Cloud-cuckoo-land of crude imagery, that no longer makes any appeal to the average thinking man on the one hand, and on the other a fantastic hell, that pales to insignificance before the grim and ghastly terrors of the actualities of modern warfare, or the utter beastliness of phases of modern life, that never get into the papers, or the poignant tortures of mind and body that so many daily experience. There is, it is true, a more enlightened, though naturally vague, speculative literature on future other-world possibilities even within the churches; but of this the public has heard, until quite recently, very little. And even this progressive literature still suffers from the crushing

weight of traditional notions, and continues to lay stress on the vast difference of conditions 'there' from those of earthly life, and this even to the breaking point of unnaturalness. Speaking generally, the mass impression left on my own mind by reading no little of what even the clerical mind that is convinced of the inadequacy of traditional presentations, has to say on the subject, is that in its belief: (1) we are not 'permitted' to know anything for ourselves of this great mystery; (2) nevertheless it is legitimate to infer from the dogmas of revelation that the other-world state is quite other from anything we know of,—it must needs be that all commonness, for instance, is there done away with; and (3) that the sacred or the 'numinous' must impose itself forthwith upon all, to their decisive and final well-being or undoing.

Speaking in general, even to-day, after three-quarters of a century of 'spiritualistic' phenomena, the theological type of mind in the West, almost without exception, deliberately (*i.e.* consciously) or instinctively (*i.e.* subconsciously) resents as an impertinence, condemns as blasphemy or regards with pitying contempt the widespread present attempts that are being made, from both sides, to lift even though it be a tiny corner of the veil. It dogmatically asserts that what has been revealed in canonical scripture to Christians many centuries ago by the favour of Divine Providence, is all that a beneficent Deity has deemed fitting to vouchsafe to erring mortals, and that this must perforce suffice for all obediently faithful souls. We are all familiar enough with this argument of a 'once for all delivered to the saints' *depositum fidei*,—this irrational ***non possumus*** for us to-day of those who pessimistically look back to

a golden age of a one-time inerrant and all-sufficing special and unique revelation. But the forward life-urge, playing through the processes of emergent evolution with the joy of a divine fecundity, laughs at this static faith (or more properly credulence) of a crystallized and fossilized theology. It smilingly invites us to have confidence that genuine revelation never stops; that discovery and invention are its handmaids; that modern science, within its own measures and degrees, is as much an instrument of progressive revelation as the tongues of prophets and pens of scripture-makers have been in their particular spheres in the past. Indeed it may very well be that the West, which in the past has borrowed the fundamentals of its religion from the East, may be just beginning to evolve conditions for a religion of its own, more suited to its peculiar genius. It may be that physical science, with its high and really practised virtues of accurate observation and description of phenomena and love of exactitude and truth, already constitutes the preliminary or preparatory stage of such a truly world-religion. But as yet our science has no soul; till now it has been heartless. Yet is it planning out and plotting foundations for a future temple of the Living God, on a scale and with an accuracy of measurement that no religion of the past has hitherto even imagined.

And now, as a reaction from the crude mechanistic and materialistic theorizing of the latter half of the nineteenth century, there emerges in the West, in our own day, the beginnings of what may prove to be the moment of the ensouling of this vast scientific construct; when perchance it may pass from its present inorganic state to the dignity of an organism in the grand scale of a world-wide genuine human culture.

Every great discovery on this small planet has begun in a lowly way. Nothing comes down ready-made from heaven,—except in the mythology of miracle. Development and growth constitute the law of modal evolution. First the grain, then the stalk, and then the full corn in the ear. This evolutionary instrumentality does not deny the reality of creative activity; it envisages simply the way creation works in its bringing to birth in the process of the ever-becoming.

But if science, or our progressive knowledge of the ways of nature, would in its turn preserve an orderly course of general development, it must grow gradually, and not indulge in the freakish leaps and bounds of sudden magical metamorphoses or miraculosity. To assimilate every new intake of nourishment, the food of science must be selected with a view to digestibility. Fish cannot feed on the mountains with the sheep. They must seek nutriment from their natural surround.

In view of these general presuppositions, it follows that methodical systematic science must move slowly, striving to correlate every fresh fact with those already known in the so-far surveyed provinces of physics, biology and psychology. Now in the domain of psychical research, for which 'spiritualism' supplies the material, we are advancing beyond the classical type of these sciences, and dealing with the rarer phenomena and more inclusive theorizing of new scientific disciplines, which are not yet officially recognized by academic exclusiveness. Unprejudiced students of this phase of quest have to take into account the phenomena of what, to use somewhat vile neologisms, may be called para-physics, para-biology and para-psychology. And it is a subdivision of the

phenomena of the last class with which we are specially concerned in this paper.

Now if, in this special province of this new discipline (for it has not yet reached the dignity of a positive science), with which we are immediately concerned, we would proceed with any approximation to what may be dignified as scientific method, we must needs try to deal first with the conditions of the most proximate phase of the after-state, which not only resembles most closely normal life as we know it 'here,' but also takes in such already 'here' known expansions and extensions of sense as clear-seeing and clear-hearing,—indeed 'cryptæsthesia' of all kinds (to use one of the host of new jargon-terms which French students of 'metapsychics' are so fertile in inventing, and which offend so greatly the ear of a scholar),—such as 'psychometry' (a very misleading term) or what the French are calling 'psychognomy' in general.

My suggestion then to fellow-students and searchers is that we should try first to get some clear leading principles or general ideas of this preliminary stage, the initial simplicities of the Hither Hereafter. This, it seems to me, we can do systematically only by collecting many instances of the personal testimony, the biographies as it were, of just ordinary persons, who have experienced the 'great change.' For only when we have a large number of instances, can we proceed methodically to analyze, collate and classify them, and so make inferences that may be of any real value. To carry out this necessary initial spade-work, it is best to neglect for the time being all communications which have the pretence of being 'teachings'; for they must necessarily (for us) be pure dogmatism. On the level I have in view, as

far as my own study goes, and I have been engaged upon it for upwards of forty years, I find that there are as many variant theories 'there,' in the proximate states, as there are 'here'; many of them are radically contradictory, and no few self-contradictory. As to 'high spirits' who pompously 'give out' what purport to be inerrant world-schemes and the rest, we may very properly put them into cold storage for future inspection.

The just ordinary decent folk on the other side make no pretence to know of such high matters, and refrain from such dogmatizing. Not only so; but already in the vast majority of instances of such pretended 'high' revelations, anyone who is familiar with the leading doctrines of the great religions and philosophies, can at once detect the wind-bag nature of these pseudo-Platos and Malachis, not to speak of self-boasting Messiahs and Buddhas. There are, quite naturally, swelled heads and ego-centric megalomaniacs 'there' as well as 'here.' It is indeed all very human,—all too human. The gentlemen who 'condescend' to us poor mortals here from the '21st plane,' and other like pinchbeck sublimities, are, in the majority of cases, intoxicated with 'the exuberance of their own verbosity,'—to use the most famous epigram of Disraeli,—and are not improbably breathing hot air 'there.'

But, some one may say: We have already piles of the sort of modest 'testimony' to which you refer, and can at once proceed to analyze it. That is true; but to a certain extent only. For methodical experimental science does not deal with haphazard crude material; it carefully gathers and selects the material for its purposes. What I have been trying to do has

been planned and regulated, therefore, on somewhat such principles and lines as follows.

First the work must be co-operative and *con amore*. By this I mean: Whatever sensitive, medium or intermediary is used, our first endeavour should be to get into sympathetic intimacy with the so-called 'controls,' and assure them of our friendliness and sincere interest. We must then explain the general idea to them, and convince them that the matter is one of importance, deserving of every attention and of sustained effort,—indeed urgently worth the while of the devotion of every honest worker. In this way alone is genuine co-operation, there hither and here thither, possible. For it is only by loyal co-operation and truly *ex animo* that any real advance in so difficult a questing can be made. Reciprocal and complementary work is here the only kind that stands a chance of being effective. The preliminary task for the co-operators on the other side in this experiment is the selection of those who are willing to come and tell their own stories: first, the bare outline of their recent earth-life, and then quite simply just what they remember happened to them after they passed from the body. There is naturally a certain delicacy in all this; just as here with us we do not expect strangers at a first meeting to unbare their souls to us. In this sort of experiment, therefore, they are not asked to give their names or any other evidential data; they are for the moment 'ships that pass in the night.' For if their anonymity is preserved, they are able to disclose details which otherwise they might shrink from mentioning. It becomes the conveyance to us of a human document,—an unreserved confession.

Moreover, in order to get the data unmixed with

any theorizing, the investigator must gently recall the communicator from running off on to speculative theorizing or using 'cant' terms. If, for instance, as they are all naturally tempted to do, they employ descriptive 'technical' terms taken out of the medium's 'brain,' and talk of going to another 'plane,' for example, or being on 'the astral,' or use any of the many general uncriticized terms of 'spiritualistic' or 'theosophical' or 'occult' jargon, the querent here should at once say: Please describe quite simply what you can remember of what actually happened to you. If this proves to be vague (for generally many of the initial incidents are those occurring in semi-unconsciousness or in a half-dream state), then they should be gently but firmly held to the effort of recollecting. It is often surprising how in this way their power of recalling is strengthened; and in some cases their memories become extremely vivid, and in a few are re-lived with intense emotion. The first necessity then, is to collect a large number of such scientifically controlled 'testimonies,' and record them accurately. In the case of a controlled 'voice' medium, the best means of recording is indubitably the dictaphone.

The advantage of taking such simple 'cases' first is this: Most folk, whether 'here' or when first 'there,' have not the glimmering of an idea of the many possibilities of psychical life with which an old student of such matters is familiar. To the layman in such matters, all is 'there' quite new to him, and therefore amazing and marvellous; he at first has no values to help him. The ordinary person is at first necessarily the slave of his memory of earth-conditions and limitations. For instance, it is for him a marvel that he can get from one place to another without walking or

riding or flying. On the contrary, those who have made a prolonged study of the different classes of psychical phenomena, or even those who have got only a superficial smattering of them, or may-be are acquainted with them only by hearsay, are able far more rapidly and easily to adapt themselves to the new conditions of normal life 'there' than the unknowing, who have to be taught as are babes in a Kindergarten here.

Most people, to be sure, are full of false notions about the after-state. I have, indeed, heard many pitiable accounts of the initial difficulties of the ignorant, and realize poignantly the shocking general ignorance of moderns of all classes about 'heaven' and 'hell,' due either to false teaching, or to no teaching, about the natural first future of all humanity. As one of the simplest examples, let me take the case of one poor old soul who had lived and toiled all her life in the slums of this modern Babylon of ours. We called her 'Emily' for convenience of reference.

Before, however, attempting an abstract of her story, it may be as well to describe very briefly the method of transmission used in her case and numerous others in the Quest Psychical Investigation Group—for there are, of course, numerous other ways and modes of such mediation.

The present medium employed for this series of experiments, goes into a trance, and is then 'controlled' and spoken through by a charming laughter-loving little maiden of some eight or ten summers of the 'Feda' type. Her duty, the responsibility of which she takes very earnestly, if not by any means with lugubrious seriousness, is simply to hand on what she is told or to describe the pictures shown her. This

she does with remarkable ability and devotion to accuracy, but in a very simple, childish or rather child-like way and language. At the same time she is very intelligent, and her common sense is highly developed. She frequently addresses the 'communicator' on the other side with the most disconcerting remarks of the *enfant terrible* kind, though at the same time careful to assure us that she is 'really a very nice little girl.' Sometimes she addresses, let us say, a grave ex-padre, as a grandmother does a small boy. To hear her say gravely, as it were in the tone of indulgent reprimand, to keep the 'subject' to the point: "John, what *did* you do next?"—is intensely funny and yet delightful. "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings" indeed, though charmingly! We all just love little Pollyanna. Pollyanna is the most immediate medium or intermediary on the other side, contacting and blending with the 'surround' of our medium here, and using as instrument certain of her physical organs. Pollyanna refers to our this-side medium somewhat cavalierly as 'the woman.' In this case the latter in the trance-state hears all that Pollyanna is saying, and sometimes sees the pictures, but has no notion of what Pollyanna is going to say. A multiple or dissociated personality, the sceptic will at once object—anything indeed but the admission of the inconvenient truth. Such 'wise-acres' are not really good students of simplicities, and just because of their own fancied superiority. And here also let the self-imagined aristocrats of the 'occult,' 'theosophic' or even 'mystic' classlets, who vaunt themselves that they are superior to all these methods and means of communicating with such 'undeveloped' folk on what they condescendingly term the 'lower astral' (or using some other equally

erroneous vocable)—whatever that may mean anyhow —remember that the poor and humble, the tax-gatherers and sinners, were the special objects of the attention and love of one whom the Christians worship as the highest example of Divinity on earth.

And now to Emily and her (to me at least) pitiable and touching little story, which I greatly regret cannot be given in the very words of the little child-medium's own simple, but vivid and quaint language. The imperfect, gappy and paraphrased long-hand 'record' hands on only the 'dry bones' of the story; the flesh and blood that clothed it when told have vanished. This case was given unfortunately before we used the dictaphone, which records every word and inflection of voice, mechanically. And please, whoever you may be who read it, remember that it is just one of very many similar, yet all distinctive and 'unique,' stories —just a single sample. The contrast between my above formal exposition and Emily's simplicities is of course greatly heightened by their immediate juxtaposition.

Emily's Story.

Emily belonged to what are called the 'lower orders.' She lived in a slum. She married Jim, a plumber, and they had a large family. Wages were low and they lived in narrow poverty. Hard work and drudgery from morning to night were Emily's portion. Everything seemed to go wrong. Some or other member of the family was always ill. So the only life that Emily knew was one of ceaseless worry and trouble; she had no joy, no amusement of any kind. Emily regarded life as being just that naturally,—just one trouble after another. Yet she did not complain. You had to work as hard as you could and as long as you could stand over the wash-tub,—that and nothing more. When Emily was 56 she got pneumonia and passed away.

Now Emily's religion taught a heaven and a hell with nothing between. People in heaven looked down cheerfully on people in

hell; they had got what they deserved. Emily had had no time to go to church. She prayed a little in an uncomprehending way. But she had no expectation whatever that her prayers would be heard. As far as she knew, they never were; and in any case the hearing of prayer was not for such as her. So when she passed forth, after doing her best by husband and children, being a humble soul, she thought she must naturally go to hell, for only the gentry went to heaven. There was, of course, only either the one or the other to choose from. Emily's thought was: "Now I'm in for bigger trouble,"—just one more to meet.

But when Emily awoke, she found hell quite pleasant. She first met her father and mother. Poor folk had they been, but 'nice.' On seeing them, in delighted surprise she exclaimed: "Why, Ma, I can't be in hell, can I?" Her mother answered: "Em, this is the land of happiness you're in." "But," said Emily: "Why is it I'm not ill?" Her parents told her she was not only not ill, but would never feel tired in body again. Emily, you see, had never known what it was not to be tired. This prospect alone seemed to Emily to be highest heaven,—no more pains and aches!

Next Emily looked back at or visited Jim and the children, knowing that her death must have been a great trouble for them—scraping together enough money to bury her. When she saw the funeral she felt proud of it,—not only a hearse and trappings but a cab as well! At last Emily was 'somebody,' the centre of interest. Flowers even were given her for the first time in her life. After the funeral Jim and the children went home. They took it all as just being in the day's work. There was no time to repine. Emily was dead; they couldn't alter that any way. So they paid no more attention to her, beyond feeling some dull sort of lack, chiefly because one of the two main wage-earners had dropped out. So Emily turned away.

Then a friendly and kind-hearted stranger took her to a nice little home,—like a small suburban villa. In the parlour there was a horse-hair sofa. Emily thought that quite lovely! It had beautiful springs, and Emily was long delighted in bouncing up and down upon it. Settled in her new home, which seemed to her taste a very paradise, she spent her time mainly walking in its charming natural surroundings, strolling by the river, or

rambling in the lovely woods. But the memory of her old habit of work was still strong in her. So gradually she began to think: "This surely cannot be real life. It must be a dream." But she was told: No, it was far more real than the life she had been used to.

She then a second time visited Jim and the children, to try to give them the same idea or feeling of heaven, as she supposed her new state to be. She found them, as usual, in trouble and drudgery. But try as hard as she might, she could not communicate with them. So Emily turned away a second time.

Emily next met some people whom she took for district-visitors. She ventured to speak to them; and they explained a little about the new conditions of life in which Emily now found herself. Then said Emily: "What worries me most is there must be some people in hell. I don't like to think of people suffering." She said she wanted to help them, if she could. But they told her she was not ready to do that yet. She must first gain some experience of happiness. Now Emily had thought that being happy was almost a vice. It was quite a surprise for her to learn that being happy was a spiritual virtue. Emily had of course never been taught to think. So when they left her to think over what she had been told, all she could do was to go about to find out for herself in what this happiness consisted. She discovered by degrees that happiness consisted first of all in appreciating the good things around us,—in loving beauty, lovely sights, sweet sounds and fair deeds. So she spent her time now in learning how to see the beauty of things, and made rapid progress this way. Gradually the lines went out of her face, and Emily became as bright and as nice outwardly as she was inwardly.

In the meantime Emily had also been attending some classes of instruction, where she met others like herself. There were 'prayer-centres' as well. Emily on earth had always thought that praying was asking for things you did not get; and there it was! Still she had always prayed a little at odd moments. She was now taught the right way and meaning of prayer. How to try to put herself into harmony with God and his will, and sit in silence. She learnt also not to tell God what to do. But it was difficult for her to change her old habit of praying: "O Lord, thou knowest that" this, that and the other. "I don't know

where to turn," etc. She thus learned the true nature of prayer, and found in its practice far more than she could ever have dreamed of.

Emily was now better equipped to help those who had suffered as she had suffered. So she was permitted by her spiritual teacher to go to try to watch over and help women like herself who had recently passed over. Emily had now been some twenty years or so in the other world, and had become somewhat radiant-looking. She was able now to be of some real help under the direction of her teachers. She understood her patients; for she had been through it all herself, and so could teach them to change their drab thoughts to those of a less sombre colour. 'Like to like.' If you have drab thoughts, you draw drab things to you, just as a magnet.

For the third time Emily tried to influence her family; but again found she could practically do nothing. She next tried her hand at influencing prayer-meetings; but found it very hard and disappointing work. The chief result of her efforts in this direction was that Emily began to take on the old conditions again. She got very tired and, as it were, walked with dragging feet. Emily was then told that she was not sufficiently prepared for this kind of work. She was shown, as in a mirror, her own face before she began the attempt and what it was now. Emily then realized that the conditions of gloom, instead of being dispelled by her, had reacted on herself, and made her again careworn. She had become similar in appearance to those she had been trying to cure, and had failed to make them like herself. Emily thus began to realize it was in reality pride that had made her think: "I can do this." So she became even more humble than she had been on earth.

Emily then asked what she should do to prepare herself properly. She was told to go into a spiritual 'retreat.' This she did, but ever put into her prayers the petition that, when she was deemed fit, she should be allowed to do this work of trying to help. At last she was told that she could begin again, but not with the thought "I can do what I can." She was ever to ask for advice where to go, instead of saying what she was going to do.

Emily now began to work regularly in this way under the

woman 'guide' whom she had seen occasionally when she first passed over. She was first attached to a group of helpers who work in hospitals, where people are taken until they realize they have lost the illness their bodies had. After that she worked in helping people who were asleep or unconscious when ill here. She was then allowed to accompany such sufferers back to their bodies and help them when they woke, and also fetch them to the other-side hospital. Later on Emily was permitted to remain longer in contact with the earth-state, or stay with an incarnate soul who wanted help. This time Emily did not take on the conditions of difficulty and gloom so easily; she was able better to influence her charges for good.

Jim, her husband, was now getting very old. Emily used to take him, when he slept, away from his body to refresh him. And when, at last, he passed from the body, Emily was there to meet him. Hitherto Jim had had scarcely any consciousness at all out of the body. Now he began gradually to become conscious. At length he saw Emily. Jim was amazed at her appearance. He told her, blunderingly enough, that she was beautiful. This was the first compliment he had paid her since they were first married. Since then he had had no time to bother about Emily's looks. Emily was now indeed radiant. Emily was very delighted with this first compliment from her man, and said: "Now we're going to have a very happy time together." Jim could blurt out only: "But ain't we going to 'ell?" In reply Emily took him to her little home. When Jim saw it he exclaimed: "Why, *you* can't make enough to do this!" "But I can," smiled Emily. "I have earned the money all right"—she meant by her work in good-doing. "Well, I'm blowed!" gasped Jim, "You *are* a talker!" But in his heart he felt very proud of Emily, though surprised at all she said. He was delighted with the change in his circumstances. When they had been together on earth he had been used to put Emily down. But now he never dreamed of doing this; she was so obviously the better man of the two.

For some time Emily just kept Jim at home. Then they walked about a little together; and Jim greatly enjoyed a comfy arm-chair, as he sat and listened to what she told him. At length Jim one day thought of going out for a walk by himself. But he found it quite different from when he was with Emily. He didn't

seem to know how to use his legs; couldn't get anywhere he wanted to go. Jim, you see, had no idea of *thinking* himself anywhere. He had never thought of anything besides plumbing; so he hadn't enough power of thought to get anywhere. When he returned, Emily tried to explain things a little. But Jim shrank from any mental exertion, and said he couldn't be bothered; he would stay at home, where he was quite happy and comfortable, sitting in his shirt-sleeves. But after some time he began to try. He felt ashamed that Emily knew so much more than he did. It was, however, a long business for him to learn how to move about in his new state.

When Jim was a little more used to the conditions, Emily proposed that they should take a little holiday together. On earth they had never been on a holiday, except for an occasional visit to the Zoo or Hampstead Heath. Emily now took Jim to where there were great forests, fair sights and fine buildings. Jim, however, was very slow to appreciate their beauty. Then Emily took him to see great sheets of water,—the sea,—and wide expanses, for poor Jim had a stunted brain. He was a kindly man, but like a jelly-fish in sense and brain. Emily was able to help him in this, for she had been like it herself.

The time had now come for Jim to get to work again. He felt he wanted to. But what was he to do? There were no drains there, nothing to plumb!

(Here we left Jim, for our chief concern was Emily.)

Intuition and experience had now brought things hidden in the depths of her nature to the surface. All her life she had suffered from repression; she had never expressed herself to her knowledge before. Jim's return to her had now taught Emily how to express herself in the most natural way in terms of affection. Emily also could watch the effect upon Jim. His repressed nature expanded under the warmth of her radiance like a flower.

After some time Emily asked her teachers: "Why didn't you tell me all this before?" The reply was: "We don't put all the faults of people in front of them to start with; we let everybody find out their own failings by experience first."

Emily was further told she must follow the same rule in trying to help others. She was now very acute; so she under-

stood. And it helped her very much in her attempts to help others who were suffering. Emily is now doing excellent work of this kind.

And here, though there is very much more to be said, I must leave the subject, but only, I hope, 'to be continued' on some future occasion, if it be so ordered. It will any way do no one any harm to read 'Emily's Story' just simply as it was told.

G. R. S. MEAD.

NEW LIGHT ON THE ORIGIN OF DEMONIC MAGIC.

GERHARD HEYM.

Two books have recently appeared, which may justly deserve the attention of those who are interested in the mental phase of those abnormal phenomena known loosely as magic. This term embraces a wide field; but we are here concerned with its lower aspects only, such as witchcraft, sorcery and other similar practices, which centre in what may be called the perversion of religious worship. The author of these volumes is Prof. A. Grünwedel, the well-known Orientalist of the Berlin Museum, who is a distinguished and widely-known authority on all matters pertaining to Central Asia. It may be of interest to note that this now Emeritus Professor devoted himself in early life to the study of Classical Archæology, in connection with which he attended lectures on Etruscan Art at the University of Munich. He found himself, however, utterly unable to accept the then current point of view regarding the Etruscans; and so strong was his conviction that the whole subject was based upon false assumptions, that he was obliged to abandon his plan of obtaining a doctor's degree in this field. At this point Sanskrit and Pali engaged his attention, and at the same time he became very much interested in the then little known subject of Buddhism, which led to his definitely devoting him-

self to Indian Archæology. Little enthusiasm existed for this branch of research at that time. In an endeavour to establish a scientific basis for Buddhist Archæology, our author was led to Central Asia, where certain views as to the sources of this archæology, held since his student days, were found to be confirmed. In his Museum work he realized that the mythology of Buddhism, and especially that of Lamaism, urgently required scientific formulation; and it was investigation in this field which led our author to the Tantras, and above all to the *Sādhanamātā*. From now on the most cordial co-operation was offered him by Russian scholars; and these early opinions of our author, which are found sketched in his *Buddhist Art in India*, have influenced such well-known authorities as Foucher and Sergeij von Oldenburg, as they acknowledge.[1]

In the first book under notice, entitled *Tusca*,[2] Prof. Grünwedel assumes an Egyptian derivation for the Etruscan language. On the basis of this presumption he has been able to decipher certain Etruscan inscriptions. Numerous scholars have attempted to solve the enigma of the Etruscan language; but our author has been the first to study the language from the point of view of its relation to Egyptian hiero-

[1] The works of Prof. Grünwedel are as follows (apart from the books under discussion):

(1) *Das Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu. Beiträge zur Ikonographie des Lamaïsmus.* Berlin, 1890, 4to. (2) *Buddha-Studien.* Berlin, 1897, fol. (3) *Mythologie des Buddhismus.* Leipzig, 1900. 8vo (188 illustr.). (4) *Buddhist Art in India.* London, 1901, 8vo. (5) *Alt-buddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkestan.* (*Archäologische Forschungen* 1906-7.) Berlin, 1912, 4to. (6) *Bericht über archäologische Arbeiten in Idikutschari, im Winter 1902-3.* München, 1906, 4to. (7) *Der Weg nach Sambhala.* Trans. from the Tibetan by A. G. München, 1914. (8) *Aus Feodor Jagor's Nachlass.* Herausgegeben von A. G. Berlin, 1914, 4to. (9) *Ngag Dbang Blo Bzang Rgyo Mthso. Die Tempel von Lhasa.* By the First Dalai Lama of Lhasa. Trans. by A. G. Heidelberg, 1919. (10) *Der Indische Kulturkreis.* Herausgegeben von A. G. und Andere. Berlin, 1920, fol.

[2] *Tusca.* Leipzig, 1922, 4to.

glyphics. Curiously, a work[1] appeared two years after the publication of *Tusca*, which held that the Etruscan language was a dialect of the Egyptian; but whether or not the conclusions arrived at in this work agree with those of Prof. Grünwedel, I have been so far unable to ascertain.

The decipherment of the inscriptions contained in *Tusca* presents the reader with a mass of exceedingly loathsome anthropological detail. They are all of a 'religious' nature; and the distasteful material they contain, reveals a sordid and debased cult, which is, in fact, a most vile system of demonology. The question naturally arises: Why do Greek and Roman sources contain such meagre evidence regarding Etruscan religion? Prof. Grünwedel suggests that this is due to the fact, that the whole psychology and instincts of the Etruscans were so alien to the various peoples surrounding them, that an understanding of the real nature of their cult was impossible for their neighbours. Moreover, the Etruscans adopted certain names of Roman divinities, which they applied to *numina* of a totally different order and significance from those composing the Roman pantheon. This similarity of nomenclature served to conceal from the ancient world the peculiarly sinister character of the Etruscan rites.

In his researches into the provenance of the Etruscan language, Prof. Grünwedel, following earlier authorities, assumed the Oriental origin of the Etruscan people, though they found it impossible to place definitely the locality from which they sprang. In scrutinizing the inscriptions, however, he discovered

[1] Hilaire de Barenton, *La Langue Etrusque, Dialecte de L'Ancien Égyptien.* Paris, 4to, 63pp.

that certain words bore a striking resemblance to some of the Egyptian god-names,—such as Hathor, Nu, Ka, Râ and others. These names invited a survey of Egyptian literature; and this led to the working hypothesis that a passage in the famous Book of the Dead had in all probability served as a prototype for the inscription which appears as the first text in *Tusca*. As the name of Râ in particular occurs repeatedly in the Etruscan inscription, the Hymn to Râ in the Book of the Dead suggested itself as a possible source; and upon careful study this was found to be the case. An almost word for word agreement was discovered to exist between the Etruscan and Egyptian texts. But although the external correspondence is so striking, the Etruscan version would appear to be a distortion and perversion of the original Egyptian. In Prof. Grünwedel's opinion an unwholesome and perverse atmosphere permeates, not only the religion of the Etruscans, but also their whole art,—a point of view which should command the attention of those who are familiar with the examples of Etruscan statuary in the British Museum and in the Louvre.

Using the Egyptian as the key to his translation, our distinguished Orientalist has succeeded in extracting the meaning from the seven inscriptions which appear in *Tusca*, and which constitute the basic material from which his theories are derived. These texts reveal to us the secret of the Etruscan ritual, which here follows in brief.

By means of a human sacrifice, lightning called down from heaven or the sky—a perverted form of sun-worship—is supposed to enter the body of the person performing this rite, thus inspiring him, so to

speak, and enabling him to attain, as he believed, immortality without passing through the phase of death. This immortality is experienced, however, not in heaven, but in Tartarus,—the 'hell' of the Etruscans, or *their* 'heaven,' if you will. The lightning, coming from above, is regarded evidently as the personification of a god or a demon, who takes possession of his devotees and gives them supernormal knowledge and power.

Two questions may now be raised: (1) Why have previous investigators failed to give a similar interpretation to these inscriptions? and (2) Are Prof. Grünwedel's conclusions altogether tenable? In answer to the first question, we must remember that our exceedingly well-equipped Orientalist is a profound student of the literature of the Tantra-system, a distasteful phase of Oriental thought, which is usually avoided, or at best misinterpreted. Prof. Bournouf, for example, repelled by the nauseous absurdities of the Tantra-literature, certainly under-estimated it as a source of obscene magical beliefs. Our author, owing to his extensive and expert knowledge of the Tibetan language, has read many unpublished and obscure texts, and has acquired, in addition, information from some of the Lamas at first hand. The less known phase of the Tantra-system treats of magic in its most degraded manifestations; and its sinister influence has, in the opinion of Prof. Grünwedel, profoundly modified not only later Buddhism but almost every other existing Oriental religion. Its traces are to be found in countries as remotely separated as China and Japan and the Malay Islands. The centre of Tantrism is Tibet, where two sects are to be found: the old 'Red Caps' and the reformed 'Yellow Caps.' The literature

of the latter sect contains only veiled allusions to the Tantra-cult. The older literature has been partly destroyed by the reformed sect; but its extant portions give us most frank and open commentaries on Tantra-practices, which are an invaluable aid in understanding goëtic literature in general. Prof. Grünwedel insists strictly on this, and holds that these commentaries alone enable us to comprehend the very subtle and diversified literature of the reformed Tibetan sect. As humanitarian and Buddhist phraseology is invariably employed to conceal the fundamental Tantric ideas, most Occidental scholars have failed to penetrate into the hidden meanings of the Tibetan writings and also into those of that part of the Tantra-literature written in Sanskrit.

In the Tantra-texts, and especially in the commentaries of the older Tibetan sect, Prof. Grünwedel has found a certain ritual, repeated again and again, which corresponds in striking fashion to the ritual preserved in the Etruscan inscriptions. This recurrence of similar ceremonials has proved to our student of comparative demonology, that the Etruscan ritual is not simply the subjective interpretation of a scholar, but is, in fact, an earlier manifestation of a wide-spread system of 'black magic,' the counterpart of which exists to-day in its most undisguised form in Tibet. In addition, the Tantras contain many similarities to the witch-cult of mediæval times. The position of the witches at the altar, known from old prints, corresponds to that of the Tantric sorcerer; sacrifices of children occur in the West, and similar practices are commented upon in the Tantras; witches that fly through the air are counterparts of the Oriental Dâkinîs, so important in the Tantra-system; the bearing of children, according

to the Tantras, is tabu, and woman is therefore cursed,—sentiments which are professed by the witches and sorcerers in the West. In tracing the origins of mediæval witchcraft and sorcery, there is found evidence pointing to the fact that mediæval Tuscany, the former home of the ancient Etruscans, was one of the centres from which these practices radiated. It may be interesting to note, for example, that the sorcerers employed by the notorious Gilles de Rais (Blue Beard) were Florentines, as well as the fact that a curious painting in the Campo Santo at Pisa, depicting Satan in the act of spewing forth his devotees, recalls strangely similar representations of Tibetan demons. Thus, the Tantras, mediæval witchcraft and the Etruscan inscriptions are interpreted as different phases of one and the same abominable cult. The origin of this phenomenon is further elaborated in the second book under notice.

We now come to our second question. In considering the origin of the Tantra-system, Prof. Grünwedel dismisses the possibility that the cult is indigenous to Tibet or India, and points with confidence to Iran as the land from which this system was imported. He believes that those elements of Tantrism which do not belong to the later degenerate Buddhism, are derived from an Iranian religion. By Iranian is here meant more particularly Manichæan. Manichæism, the religion of Mānī, is thus believed by our author to be the source or intermediary of the Tantra-system. From later Greek and Roman times onward, the Manichæans were almost universally regarded as disseminators of an evil tradition; they were bitterly persecuted, and with especial severity in their native-land of Persia. In mediæval times many heretical sects were held to

be influenced by the Manichæans, which resulted in widespread abhorrence of their teaching in the West. Modern scholarship has, however, dispelled these views, and has revealed to us in Manichæism an eclectic religion with sincere worshippers, whose priests, the 'Electi,' followed a most rigorous and extreme asceticism, and whose scribes have bequeathed to us miniatures of great delicacy and beauty. It is, therefore, somewhat surprising to find Prof. Grünwedel holding this sect in such complete and utter condemnation, as the guardian and hander-on of a tradition essentially evil and destructive.

The reasons for his attitude, however, are elaborated throughout his works, and especially in one book that describes a series of wall-paintings found in the caves of Buddhist monks in Central Asia.[1] These paintings show how the Buddhism which was brought to this region from India, is modified and finally debased by a foreign influence. The priests of this new religion are the 'White Robed Ones,' who are to be identified with the Manichæans. In certain of the caves, which are assumed to be the earlier, paintings purely Buddhistic in character exist, while in other caves Manichæan elements are present, which finally gain the complete ascendancy. It is interesting to note in this connection, that genuine Manichæan literary documents have been recently found in this locality.[2] These documents and fragments, which include miniatures of rare beauty, are our only direct sources of the religion of Mānī, and throw no unfavourable light on the Manichæan doctrines, as far as has been at present discovered.

[1] *Alt-Kutscha.* Berlin, 1920, fol., 2 vols. (vol. ii., plates).

[2] See Burkitt, *Religion of the Manichees.* London, 1925 (contains bibliography).

Prof. Grünwedel, however, has detected in Chinese and Tibetan literary-sources clear and pointed references to the degenerating influence of the Manichæans. According to these sources, the arrival of the emissaries of this cult in different parts of the Orient was followed by a debasement of the religion existing in the locality. It is in the Tantra-system of Tibet, according to Prof. Grünwedel, that the degenerating effect of Manichæan influences is most clearly revealed to the investigator.

Having assumed the Manichæan origin of the Tantra-system, our author attempts to investigate the doctrine of Mānī itself, which he does in the second book under notice.[1] Contemporary sources mention the fact that the Manichæans possessed a secret writing, which was concealed from profane eyes, with the result that all traces seem to have disappeared. Believing that the Etruscans perverted the ideas of the Egyptians, Prof. Grünwedel has assumed that they had actually borrowed the hieroglyphs. As Manichæism, seen through the medium of the Tantras, appears to him to be a later development of the cult preserved to us in the Etruscan inscriptions, our author now postulates that a system of hieroglyphs might have been used also by Mānī and the votaries of his cult to express their magic formulæ. The real secret of the faith was reserved for the 'Electi,' always few in number, who understood the hieroglyphs. On the head-dresses of the demons in the Manichæan miniatures of Idyqutsähri[2] Prof. Grünwedel has actually found some of these symbols, which were meant, presumably, to convey to the initiate the true character

[1] *Die Teufel des Avesta.* Berlin, 1924, fol., pp. 447+113.

[2] Von le Coq, *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien.* Part II., Berlin, 1923, fol.

of these entities. These hieroglyphs constitute one of Prof. Grünwedel's most amazing discoveries, for they strikingly resemble the hieroglyphs in the so-called Hittite inscriptions, from Hamath and Jerabis and other places, some of which are to be seen in the British Museum. These Hittite inscriptions, which have largely baffled decipherment, are now claimed by our author to be inscriptions in the language of the Medes, and quite unlike those used by the Egyptians. A few Egyptian characters occur in this script, which simply serve to show the familiarity of this people with Egyptian. Some of these inscriptions have small signs placed above certain of the characters, which render the phrase subject to a double interpretation. It is stated by our learned decipherer that this second language extracted from the Hittite inscriptions corresponds to that of the Etruscan inscribed texts. Prof. Grünwedel considers, indeed, that these bilingual inscriptions are among the most extraordinary in history.

These Hittite stone-texts, according to our author, were set up by the Medes, the people who destroyed Nineveh and exterminated demon-worship, the state-religion of the Assyrians, in order to expose the cult in all its frightfulness as a warning to the conquering nation and also to the vanquished. By means of the bilingual system the conquered nation was addressed in symbols which were understandable, and which, as magic formulæ, had now lost their efficacy. These formulæ closely resemble the texts of the Etruscan inscriptions, and, like them, are revolting and horrible.

The Median part of these so-called Hittite inscriptions describes the battle against the powers of evil, indicating the nature of the cult that had been destroyed, but without giving details as to the ritual.

The part of the inscription in 'Etruscan,' to use this name to distinguish the two languages, prohibits all attempts to revive the old cult by condemning to the most severe punishments those who attempted to draw down 'lightning from heaven.' The Median inscriptions are of the greatest interest, in that they refer to the most ancient Iranian tradition, a small portion of which is still extant in the Avesta, but which, because of an imperfect text, is difficult to interpret. These Median passages are, according to Prof. Grünwedel, the prototypes, indeed the original version, of several verses of the *Zamyâd-Yast*.

In the Median version of the so-called Hittite inscriptions, according to our authority, an account is given of how an Iranian, an Aryan race, with Zarathustra himself mentioned as their leader, overthrew a people who worshipped a pantheon of infamous gods or demons. These gods are referred to in the Avesta as the devils or *devs*, which fact accounts for the title of the work under consideration—*Die Teufel des Avesta*. The struggle of Zarathustra against the powers of darkness would seem, therefore, to be an historical reality. One of the inscriptions, it is said, describes how Zarathustra drove the devils under the earth, and there bound them fast, with allusions to Nineveh, Babylon and other cities, which participated in the terrible struggle. It is further remarkable to find that the names of the evil *numina* worshipped by the people of Nineveh reappear in the Etruscan inscriptions, and also in the Tantras, and that similar rites are described in each case, which would seem to point to the Hittite inscriptions as the historical source for the later manifestation of this debased religion. In a forthcoming work Prof. Grünwedel

intends to demonstrate the relation between mediæval witchcraft and the demons of these earlier peoples.

One of the bilingual inscriptions appears on the base of a sculptured lion, and another, called 'the inscription of the sword,' shows the remnant of a sword in relief. The lion and the sword were the ancient Iranian symbols of kingship; and our author points out how the Tantra-literature has appropriated the sword-motive, while giving to it the very terrible interpretation of being sacred, because it liberated the victim from the long chain of rebirths. Prof. Grünwedel maintains that this is the hidden meaning of the sword when mentioned in the Tantras.

Not all the inscriptions which Prof. Grünwedel has thus deciphered, are of the so-called Hittite class. Some of them are supposed to be of Babylonian origin, written in cursive form; but a close examination has resulted in the discovery by our authority that the language is not Babylonian but Median, employing a system of hieroglyphs identical with those of the above-mentioned Hittite inscriptions, although less well-executed. The texts, on decipherment, prove to be similar to the other Hittite texts,—namely, decrees prohibiting the worship of demons in Babylonian lands. These inscriptions are monolingual and do not contain an 'Etruscan' version.

In the remaining part of the work Prof. Grünwedel further elucidates the Tantra-system. He emphasizes how the Tibetans have cleverly concealed the Tântric allusions in their literature; and, by way of example, he gives us the well-known tale *Roruka Avadâna*, and explains its hidden meaning. The *rôle* of Manjushri is discussed,—a potent Bodhisat in the Tantra-pantheon, who is depicted as the incarnation of the

ideal sorcerer. In numerous drawings he is seen brandishing a sword. One of the forms of the incarnation of Manjushri is the demon Yamântaka, the most frightful of all Tibetan demons, whose very name, according to the Lamas, must never be mentioned. Further allusions are made in these Tantra-texts to the white-robed monks, who introduced a strange cult into the land of Li (that is Tibet), and who also appeared in China.

In Prof. Grünwedel's works we have, therefore, before us a unique and impressive testimonial of scholarly research; and those who have been privileged to acquaint themselves with his writings, will await with the deepest interest the appearance of a new work, which will supplement the volumes we have had under consideration. The title of this work is: *Die Legenden des Na-Ro-Pa, des Hauptvertreters des Nekromanten und Hexentums, als Beweis für die Beeinflussung des nördlichen Buddhismus durch die Geheimlehre der Manichäer.* ('The Legends of Na-Ro-Pa, the Chief Representative of Necromancy and Witchcraft, as Proof of the Influence of the Secret Doctrine of the Manichæans on Northern Buddhism.') It will contain the translation of an old Tibetan manuscript with text and glossary. This volume will serve as a connecting link between Prof. Grünwedel's books dealing with the Asiatic cults and the promised future treatise, which will trace the historical origin of that strange phenomenon,—mediæval witchcraft.

GERHARD HEYM.

THE RIGHT KIND OF PSYCHICAL INVESTIGATOR.

WHY do psychical investigators not devote a little thought and study to the psychological effect of the sitter on mediumistic phenomena? It is generally recognized and conceded that there are 'good' and 'bad' sitters. What, then, is the explanation of this distinction? Is there some definite reason why this should be so, or is it to be regarded as merely a caprice of Chance?

As the daughter of Mrs. Piper, whose psychic powers have for more than thirty years been assiduously investigated by the English Society for Psychical Research, I have perhaps had a unique opportunity for observing this phase of investigation. This opportunity I have not neglected. Thus, after several years of careful observation, I have been interested to find that psychical investigators can easily be divided into four distinct groups. These four principal divisions are capable of being sub-divided according to minor characteristics of the individual, but for general purposes the four main divisions will suffice. Moreover, so clearly defined are the dominant characteristics of each group, that an experienced observer will have little difficulty in determining the probable success, or otherwise, of any would-be investigator.

To Group I. belong those earnest, sincere, keen, scholarly and invariably self-poised, albeit warm-hearted, men and women with whom just to come

into ordinary daily contact makes one feel the better mentally and spiritually.

Group II. contains the virile, spontaneous, mentally alive, impulsive and enthusiastic individuals whom we are fond of describing as being 'full of life.'

Into Group III. falls the delicate, nervous, often irritable, highly intellectual type of man or woman whose mental development has outstripped the physical.

While to Group IV. belong those trying individuals, exacting to a degree and familiar to us all, who ponderously weigh our least expression, haggle meticulously over every shade of meaning and challenge almost the inflection with which each word is uttered.

This last type of investigator would be well advised to eschew any form of psychical investigation; for to him, wisely or unwisely, has been denied the solution of such mysteries of heaven or earth as lie outside the pale of his circumscribed philosophy. Enclosed in a prison of his own fashioning, he remains forever isolated, securely shut away from the progress of his more plastic fellow-beings; although, by some strange law of Providence, being provided with an exaggerated egoism, he seldom realizes his true position.

Groups I., II. and III. contain the successful types of investigators. The first group is, however and if I may be allowed the expression, head and shoulders above the other two; the quality and number of the phenomena obtained by members of this group seeming to be limited only by the power, ability and condition of the mediums with whom they experiment. (It should be borne in mind that I am discussing the effect produced on the medium and his, or her, phenomena, by the sitter, rather than other conditions,

physical and material, which, undoubtedly, affect greatly both the medium and the phenomena, but which have nothing to do with the temperament or personality of the sitter.)

Investigators classified under Groups II. and III. invariably obtain excellent, as well as prolific, results, although not infrequently at the expense of deleterious effects on either the medium or the sitter. For instance, investigators from Group II. frequently exhaust, to an undesirable degree, the vitality of the medium; while those from Group III. often, after a sitting, complain of feeling unduly exhausted themselves. I am speaking now in a general way, not specifically, as when a sitting of strong emotional import may render abnormal all normal effects and tendencies. Also, throughout this paper, I am dealing with the mental, and not the physical, aspect of psychical phenomena.

In brief, my observations have led me to conclude that it is personality, rather than the attitude of mind of the investigator, which determines his success or failure, when experimenting with genuine phenomena. An experimenter can be as sceptical as he chooses without affecting the ultimate results of his investigation. He may, however, find those results a little slower of procurement owing to this attitude of mind; although I have always found a healthy scepticism to stimulate rather than stultify phenomena. Antagonism, on the other hand, is quite different. A psychical investigation, undertaken in a spirit of distinct antagonism either toward the medium or the subject, is almost certain to result in failure. I have known exceptions where the nature and veridity of the phenomena have broken down even such an

obstruction, but not without great and undesirable strain to both sitter and medium.

Personally, my experience has caused me to feel strongly that the phenomena of any medium are practically valueless, until after he or she has been submitted to reliable scientific investigation; but even more strongly has it led me to believe such investigation worthless unless conducted in the most humane and sympathetic manner compatible with the requirements of science. A genuine medium has nothing to fear from such an investigation, providing it is conducted with an intelligent and sympathetic understanding of conditions. A psychic is not a machine, but a super-delicately organized human being, and in all experiments must be treated as such. Then, and only then, shall we see definite and worth-while progress made in this important work.

It is truly astounding how little thought is given to the qualifications of investigators on whom rests so largely the onus of determining justly and accurately the value of all phenomena investigated. A properly qualified investigator should possess acumen, tempered with gentleness, patience, perseverance and a sympathetic understanding of the extremely sensitive organism with which he has to deal, be a keen observer and withal combine reason with imagination. It is the blending, in due proportion, of the majority of these qualifications which has given us our greatest explorers. And, after all, what is psychical research but exploration into the comparatively unknown regions of the soul and of the mind?

A. L. PIPER.

A WORD ON WILLIAM BLAKE.

By the almost simultaneous publication of two books[1] dealing with the life and work of William Blake, our interest in this strange genius has been increased, if that be possible.

To Blake the world was all a chaos of contradictory glories, and from one of the finest silver trumpets of his day rings a cry that must surely herald the king upon his way:

"Lo, I come, I hasten, I set my procession in order,
In order of triumph I come!
At the wheels of my chariot, pacing like alien captives,
Anguish and Time and Death;
With a multitude out of the uttermost spheres assembled;
With a shout of delivered stars."

The child-songs of Blake are caught up by a hundred melodious harps, and their golden burden is ever 'of such is the kingdom of heaven.' More and more it is borne in upon men's minds that there is only one subject, one theme, for the great artist; that all great art is a suggestion, a revelation of the Infinite—of God; and that every advance in science is but another occasion to the poet for bowing his head. All this was heralded in his *Auguries of Innocence:*

"To see a World in a grain of sand,
And a Heaven in a wild flower,
Hold Infinity in the palm of your hand,
And Eternity in an hour."

[1] *The Paintings of William Blake* (Benn). Ernest H. Short, *Blake* (Philip Allen).

In the last hundred years Christendom has come up against us like the dawn, and appears to be overarching us like the day. Blake was its herald when he cried:

"England! awake! awake! awake!
Jerusalem thy sister calls!
Why wilt thou sleep the sleep of death,
And close her from thy ancient walls?

. . . . . .

"And now the time returns again:
Our souls exult, and London's towers
Receive the Lamb of God to dwell
In England's green and pleasant bowers."

When Blake wrote his *Songs of Innocence* he revealed one of the most vital forms of Christianity. He could sing elsewhere:

"A robin red-breast in a cage
Puts all Heaven in a rage.

. . . . . .

A skylark wounded in the wing
A Cherubim does cease to sing."

Conventional Christians, who think such words exaggerated, cannot yet have reached the divine truth in the words of scripture: "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? And not one of them shall fall on the ground without your Father."

When we read "Pipe a song about a Lamb," we return to our lost kingdom of childhood in its divine recollections, exquisite little enquiries and childlike commands. One feels that it might have been made by the shepherd-boy who sat singing in that happy green valley of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, between this

world and the next. "Piper, pipe that song again!" There is nothing quite like it in all our poetry. It has been said it has only been approached in its own peculiar quality by the genius of Shakespeare. It belongs to the same order of poetry as the opening lines and last stanza of the clown's song in *Twelfth Night*:

"When that I was and a little tiny boy,
With hey, ho, the wind and the rain,"—

snatches of song that seem beyond invention, like the old nursery rhymes. It is impossible for a mere artist to sit down and contrive a line like:

"On a cloud I saw a child."

It is obvious that the verses were the inspiration of the moment. We may almost say Blake overheard them, that they were scraps of angels' talk overheard one quiet summer afternoon, when the doors of his mind were ajar to Eternity. "Nowhere but here shall be found," says Mr. Swinburne, "such a tender wisdom of holiness." Nothing like this was ever written on that text of the lion and the lamb; no such heaven of sinless animal life was ever conceived so intensely and sweetly.

"And there the lion's ruddy eyes
Shall flow with tears of gold,
And pitying the tender cries,
And walking round the fold,
Saying, 'Wrath, by His meekness
And, by His health, sickness
Is driven away
From our immortal day.

'And now beside thee, bleating lamb,
I can lie down and sleep;
Or think on Him who bore thy name,
Graze after thee, and weep.' "

. . . . . .

"Little lamb, who made thee?
Dost thou know who made thee?"

. . . . . .

"He is callèd by thy name,
For He calls Himself a Lamb.
He is meek and He is mild;
He became a little child.
I a child, and thou a lamb,
We are callèd by His name."

J. C. WRIGHT, F.R.S.L.

THE STUFF OF DREAMS.

WHEN we have beaten upon the doors of day until weariness o'ertakes us and we sink troubled and petulant to the gentle peace of night, the vast dark about us holds for a while at least our fretfulness. Like the soft wings of a great blessing, the gloom folds us with its sheltering mystery, whence neither the crafty intellect nor the tortuous brain can glean its secret. Then it is that the darkness, that blinds our eyes, opens the windows of the soul, giving our bodies into the beneficent hands of sleep, while the divine drama of eternal things breaks in upon our spiritual consciousness with all the urgency of a belated love. The substantial stuff of day, that pressed its claim with the insistence of crude fact and harsh reality, dissolves into a fumy vapour, that heaven's own winds hurl into an inconsequential past. We leave behind the armour of our mortality,—its weight and argument were but mere trumperies for the high gods to jest upon,—in a realm where the whisper of a lonely child holds more of the impulse of truth than mighty thrones or the base truculence of kings.

The verities of the unknown are richer and profounder than the half-stolen evidence of creed and cant; for they have eternity on their side. As we push our little boat away from the safety of this solid shore into the misty shades that lie before us, no longer feeling the touch of reality, no longer bound by the strong rope of faith, we stretch our tremulous

hands to the vague dream that lures us ever onward. We see the troubled waters beaten by the wind; the cool air floats past us, but we cannot turn back and so betray the soul-instinct within us. Beauty has caught and taken us for her own; and neither denial nor doubt can save us from our homage to her undying power. The now faint forms that time once limned upon the parchment of our memory, are well forgotten in their shapeless filmy impotence; their hold upon us lost in this greater quest where future treads upon the past with all unseeing speed.

Around us the heart-beat of humanity's multitudes throbs to the pulse of our own, and draws our dream into the one infinity that folds us all. Do we take our little minds and weave around them the coarse thread of modern reality, with its sly sophistry and eager quest for the vain bubble, pride,—one quiet glance from the all-seeing eye of priest or prophet will shrivel up that web of deceit and daring, and expose our frail and ignorant pretence. Out of the mental chaos that whirls about us, flitting its shadows, now bright but more often dank and morbid, before our tired vision, there spins the cosmic whole that brings the far ends of thought back from their wandering paths.

To seize a dogma and to analyze a dream are greatly separated tasks,—the one a show of mental aptitude, but the other a dim adventure, in a realm where the vast mystery of hope and tears and broken wings mingles in the half-light of lost romance and half-forgotten things. However eagerly we peer into the unknown, there is ever the indistinct, but none the less vital, demarcation between the cognizable and the half-real, half-ethereal wisps of vision, that flit about

the border between our mental and spiritual consciousness, without apparently belonging to either territory. It is not so much a question of moral development as of spiritual insight,—a subtler sense of that imagery of soul, that comes not of knowledge, but intuition. We cannot reach these vague elusive dreams, that pass like white sails across our horizon, visitants from shores we do not know, voyagers to strange imperial lands we'll never see. Ours just to catch one glimpse, that lends our faith one fleeting fact of sight, to heal our aching doubt and seal our eager hope. We vaguely piece our visions into a pattern of thought or speech, trying perhaps to tell another of our soul's adventure. But they do not find in our faltering words the message that they seek; the secret that we learn eludes them still. Each to his own salvation, by whatever measure of faith or fantasy his soul attains its end, and the eternal quest is over.

JAMES S. MARSHALL.

A NOTE ON THE SLAVONIC JOSEPHUS AND THE JOSIPPON.

THE very interesting suggestion, made by Dr. Marmorstein in the last number,[1] that the otherwise unknown 8 passages, in the Old Russian translation of Josephus' *Wars*, on Jesus, John the Baptist and the Early Christians, might be dependent on the *Josippon*, has egged me on to look into the matter with the help of all the literature on the subject available in the Library of the British Museum. This literature is not very extensive, and I have, I believe, covered the whole ground in my survey. Net result: Dr. Marmorstein's *caveat* is unsupported by the evidence.

Let us first take the Hebrew *Josippon*, the most authentic form of this compendium from the Greek text of Josephus (not, however, apparently known till the 9th century).[2] It is of course the Jesus-passage that here primarily concerns us; it occurs only in Morwyn's version. Let us then transcribe it from his (to us now) quaintly-spelled English.

[1] 'Remarks on the Slavonic Josephus.' For the previous ventilation of this exceedingly interesting and important subject, see my introductory paper (the first notice in English), 'The Slavonic Josephus' Account of the Baptist and Jesus,' in the July no., 1924 (reprinted in the writer's last volume, *The Gnostic John the Baptizer*, 1924, pp. 97-119), and Dr. Eisler's positive article, 'The Newly Rediscovered Witness of Josephus to Jesus,' in the October issue, 1925.

[2] Bibliography: (1) Sebastian Munster, *Historiarum Josephi elegans Compendium*, Basel, 1559, 12°. Heb. and Lat. in parallel columns. The Jesus-passage is wanting in M.'s text. (2) Eng. Trans. by Peter Morwyn of Magdalen Coll., Oxford, *A Compendious and most marvellous Historie of the latter times of the Jewes common Weale*, London, 1596, black letter. The only work which contains the Jesus-passage. [There was also a 1650 and 1684 edition of this version; the former was issued in the interests of anti-Semitic propaganda, and as a warning to the City of London not to be disobedient like the Jews.] (3) Johannes Gagnier, *Josippon sive Josephi ben-Gorionis Historiae Judaicae, Libri Sex*, Oxford, 1706, Lat. Trans. The Jesus-passage is missing. (4) J. F. Breithaupt, *Josephus Gorionides sive Josephus Hebraicus*, Gotha, 1707, Lat. Trans. The Jesus-passage is wanting in B.'s text.

"There was at that time, one Jesus, a wise man (if it be lawful to cal him a man), for he was a worker of wonderful and strange workes, and a teacher of such men as gladly did heare the truth, and had many disciples, both of the Jewes (p. 107) and also of the Gentiles. This man was Christ, whome after he was accused of the chiefe rulers of our nation, and condemned by Pilate to be crucified, they neverthelesse ceased not to loue, which loued him euen from the beginning. To those hee appeared the third day alive, according as the prophets by diuine inspiration had tolde before, as wel of this, as also of many other wō-derful things, which should be done by him. And even to this day the Christian sect, which took their name of him, continueth."

It is quite evident that no non-Christian Jew could ever have penned this paragraph as it stands. I have a shrewd suspicion moreover that the worthy Peter, if he found the passage in his original (see on this the last very interesting paragraph of Dr. Marmorstein's paper), has further tendaciously paraphrased it in 'translation.' If it, in fact, stood in the Hebrew before him,[1] then it was as clearly based on the famous so-hotly-disputed passage in the Greek text of Josephus' *Antiqq.* xviii. 3. 3, on which Dr. Eisler has commented at length, trying ingeniously to extricate a genuine Josephean ground from the Christian glossing. But this well-known paragraph has nothing whatever to do with the Slavonic Josephus' quite different Jesus-passages.

(In Gagnier's translation (lib. I. cap. iii.) there is the following interesting statement: "I, Joseph ben Gorion, priest of Israel, wrote this book; I myself composed what is therein written" (p. 27). "This VIth Book is entitled by its proper name in Hebrew *Josippon.* It is also called *The Wars of Jehovah.* In Greek its name is *Josephus.* And finally in the Roman tongue it is called *Gosippus*, for that is how they pronounce my name.")

As an example of the free and easy and unconscionable way in which Christian apologists further glossed this *Antiquities'*

[1] Munster, we see, has not got the passage; in other respects Morwyn seems to have translated from Munster.

passage, let us now turn to the text of the Latin *Egesippus* or *Hegesippus*, a product of Patristic rhetoric.[1]

"For they [the Jews] paid the penalty of their own crimes, who, after they had crucified Jesus, the judge of things divine, subsequently persecuted his disciples. Nevertheless, very many of the Jews and most of the Gentiles believed in him, being urged [thereto] by the profusion of [his] moral precepts (p. 152) and superhuman works. For them, not even his death put an end to either their faith or gratitude; nay rather, it increased their devotion. They [the Jews] laid murderous hands [upon him], and brought the author of life before Pilate to be slain. They begin to put strong pressure upon the reluctant judge; but in this Pilate has no excuse, but the madness of the Jews is piled up, because neither ought the former to have passed sentence on one whom he had found in no respect guilty whatever, nor should the latter have doubled their sacrilege by murder, so that he should be slain by those to whom [? God] had offered him for their healing and whole-making. As to this, the Jews themselves also bear witness, where Josephus the historian says:

"'At that time there was a wise man, if indeed the creator of wondrous works should be called a man, in that he appeared to his disciples alive again after the third day of his death, according to the writings of the prophets, who foretold both these and other countless things concerning him, replete with miracles. From him began the synagogue (*congregatio*) of the Christians and permeated every race of mankind; indeed no nation of the Roman world has remained which has no share in his worship.'

"If the Jews do not believe us, let them believe their own folk. The above has been said by Josephus, whom they esteem very highly; and yet, while he spake the truth, he was mentally

[1] (1) '*Egesippi Scriptoris antiquissimi, necnon gravissimi, de bello Judaïco et ubis Hierosolymitanæ excidio, libri quinque.*' In M. de la Bigne's final and revised ed. of *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, Lyons, 1677, pp. 1123-1214. (2) C. F. Weber-J. Caesar, *Hegesippus qui dicitur sive Egesippus de bello judaico*, Marburg, 1864. It is stated in the notes that there was a Lat. Trans. of Josephus said by some to have been by Rufinus, at end of 4th cent. Others have ascribed it either to S. Ambrose or S. Jerome. The authors think that it may be legitimately ascribed to the former, on the ground that the work bore Ambrose's name in antiquity (pp. 392, 393, 398). I translate from the Weber-Caesar text (based on the Codex Cassellanus), cap. xii. (p. 151). (3) F. Vogel, *De Hegesippo, qui dicitur, Iosephi Interprete*, Erlangen, 1881, reviews the subject, but comes to no conclusion.

inconsistent, so that he did not believe his own words. But he spake on the credence of history, because he thought it was wrong to deceive. He failed to believe, [however,] because of hardness of heart and the bias of dishonesty. (And so forth.)"

For the Arabic version, see J. Wellhausen, '*Das arabische Josippus*,' in '*Abhandl. d. könig. Gesell. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. K.*,' N.F. Bd. I. Nr. 4.

The Jesus-passage is here also wanting.

Finally, I need not deal in detail with the John-passage. It is sufficient to state that it is based on the classical Josephus' account and on Christian tradition. It has no resemblance whatever to the quite independent and characteristic Slavonic Josephus' passages on the Baptizer. G. R. S. M.

THE BAMBOO FLUTE.

BECAUSE I have brought back from my wanderings
Only the seven-jointed bamboo flute with which
I started,
Men call me wastrel, and sneering ask
Where is the treasure that I went forth to seek.
And when I tell them that I have it hid in my flute,
They laugh and nudge one another, thinking me mad.
Only my flute knows that the soul which I lost
In my wanderings, when life took me for its plaything,
As I would have taken life,
Is hidden here in its heart.
And at the touch of my lips in the dusk—
When the bitter, begging day is done—
It gives me again my soul.
Wealth which the world cannot filch
Is mine, and love which turns neither to satiety nor
mockery.
Yet men call me mad and a beggar,
And pity—or sneer.

J. B. MONTGOMERY MCGOVERN.

SUBCONSCIOUS.

THE DREAMER:

A FLITTING shadow came to-night
Between me and the candlelight,
And drew me darkly out of sleep,
Till I must rise and softly creep
With padding feet upon the stair
And out into the biting air,
And down the streets and on and on.
I never knew a moon so wan
As now discloses in the gloom,
A small lamp in an endless room.
Whither go I, wherefore seek?

THE VOICES:

You seek yourself.

THE DREAMER:

Oh who doth speak?
The trees rise up so dark, so thick,
I am afraid, my heart grows sick.
Tremendous, towering, twisted trees,
I never knew the like of these.
They are alive, I feel their blood
Resurge in a spring-crested flood.
Sleep, draw me back to your calm breast
And hold me close.

THE VOICES:

You cannot rest.
You seek your self, that flying shade,
That leaves its sleek shell unafraid
To plunge into our black recess
And learn our secret loveliness.
Come follow, follow, follow fast,
And you shall take your self at last.

THE DREAMER:

I will not. Sleep, call on my name!

THE VOICES:

You cannot go the way you came.
Within these glades your will is weak.
Oh hasten, child, make haste to seek
Your self that radiant casts aside
Its mortal garb, and like a bride
With lighted brow and naked limb
Beholds her god and bows to him,—
A lovely god that lifts her up
And puts her lips unto the cup
Of her desire. And she shall drink
So deep, so deep, that you must sink
Forgotten, like a grain of sand
Rolled round by waves across the strand,
Whirled on by every passing breath.
And this is everlasting death,
Annihilation!

THE DREAMER:

Ghosts, you lie!
We live together and we die
To re-creation, she and I.
God to a greater God aspires;
So must my spirit find new fires
That burn before a distant throne,
Where white perfection sits alone.
Lo, she, the seeker, moves in light
Among the branches of the night,
And plucks its black and secret fruit,
Till candid flame consumes the root.
I cannot go where she doth go
Unveiled and free; I only know
That she her radiance hath lent
Unto her earthly tenement.
I am no more afraid. Behold,
The frowning trees are tipped with gold,
Oh in the sky a victor stands
And spills the sunlight with his hands.

PHYLLIS MÉGROZ.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THE SAMARITANS.

Their History, Doctrines and Literature. With 6 Appendices and 19 Illustrations. By Moses Gaster, Ph.D. The Schweich Lectures (British Academy) for 1923 [delivered in 1924]. London (The Oxford University Press), 1925; pp. 208; 10s. 6d. net.

A GREAT book indeed! It marks the beginning of an entirely new epoch in Samaritan research. And this research is a subject of immense importance. It is of prime value not only for the history of Judaism and for the Biblical student, but also for the better understanding of the extra-canonical literature,—midrashic, targumistic, halachic, agadic, apocryphal, apocalytic, mystical and gnostic,—both Palestinian and Hellenistic, of the great middle period of four centuries before and four centuries subsequent to the common era; and last but not least it affords us unexpected insight into the precursory period and the years of birth and early development of Christianity. When I heard my respected colleague, Dr. Moses Gaster, deliver these gripping and astonishing Lectures *viva voce*, in 1924, at the British Academy, what little I knew of the Samaritans, those faithful 'strict observers' of the Torah, began for the first time to get a proper setting and perspective. I was thus spurred on to make an intensive study of what was accessible of this fascinating, but hitherto obscure and largely erroneously exposed and estimated subject. So I spent some three assiduous months at the British Museum early in 1925, filling a dozen fat note-books with my gleanings. I am, therefore, in a small measure now prepared to appreciate the feast of good things set here before us, and the ripe knowledge of the written account of one who is *facile princeps* in *Samaritana*. I have not the temerity to attempt in any way to criticize this, in my judgment, the most important contribution to Semitic religion that has appeared for many a long year; for I sit at the Haḥam's feet in this discipline, and learn gladly from him. For upwards of a quarter of a century Dr. Gaster has been in intimate touch and correspondence with the miserable remnant

of this once wide-spread race,—an Israel utterly faithful, in spite of the bitterest persecutions, to its own special traditions. To-day the Shomerim number scarce 170 souls, to preserve the precious heritage of a once very extensive literature, which even to-day is bulky enough. Our greatest authority on those scriptures and chronicles is unquestionably the writer of the 1924 Schweich Lectures. His collection of Samaritan MSS. is unique, the most complete and valuable in the world; and he has read and studied them all! What the resulting views matured by those long years of study are, in summary even, cannot be set forth here. They are not only eye-opening, but so revolutionary that indubitably a tornado will rage round the devoted head of our most courageous present-day defender of the for-so-long forgotten and traditionally execrated Samaritans, whose very existence was first made known to scholars only by the 'Correspondence' from the end of the 16th century onwards. Two salient problems alone can here be touched upon. (1) What, for instance, are we to say when the LXX Greek targum is torn by our Lecturer from its hitherto on-all-sides accepted Alexandrian setting, and claimed to be genuinely Palestinian?—And demonstrably so, by the filling up of innumerable gaps in *our* tradition, with the help of the Samaritan documents? (2) What are we, again, to say to the courageous gauntlet of challenge flung down before Higher Critics by Dr. Gaster, who believes he has proved that the text of the Torah, more or less as we have it, is pre-Ezran? These are but two out of a rich collection of novel theses put forward in these arresting pages. The battle should wax furiously indeed! But, however the fortunes of war should go, either as to the main or as to the secondary positions, one great thing is gained: No Biblical scholar, worth his salt, can in the future afford to neglect the Samaritans. They are to-day risen from the grave of long oblivion and neglect; they stand there, not ghosts of the past, but living defenders of ungainsayable facts of history. Their debt, and our debt, to Dr. Gaster is immense; he is in sober truth the Columbus of a new Biblical world!

Dare I, in conclusion of this so utterly inadequate notice, reveal a thought that has been constantly at the back of my mind, in carefully studying this so-closely-packed volume? Throughout, though our great exponent strives always to be objective and impartial, Dr. Gaster cannot help subconsciously remaining firm set in the Judæan tradition. Now what if, historically, that tradition is not the more reliable? What if the

contentions of the Samaritans, for which they have lived and died for so many centuries, are historically more sound? That query will, I fear, make most scholars, whether Jewish or Christian, more furious than those who are sure already, for one reason or another, strenuously to resist Dr. Gaster's large assortment of upsetting views. We are really in for a quite lively and exciting time. The bones in the valley of fossilized opinion are beginning to get rattled into life again. *Debout les morts!*

Modernism in the Church of England.

The Gospel and the Modern Mind. By Walter R. Matthews, D.D., Dean of King's College, London, Chaplain to the King. London (Macmillan); pp. 188; 7s. 6d. net.

Modernism as a Working Faith. By W. Maurice Pryke, B.D., Rector of Risby, Suffolk. Cambridge (Heffer); pp. 217; 4s. 6d. net.

Is there a 'Modern Mind'? Few men, if any, have had a better opportunity of judging than the Editor of *The Hibbert Journal*. During the last quarter-century a thousand printed articles have passed under his editorial scrutiny, besides the perhaps greater number of MSS. submitted to him but not accepted. Dr. Jacks' opinion is that "the demands of modern thought are so manifold and various," that a religion which should endeavour to adapt itself to 'modern thought all round' would find itself without a creed at all. Again, if we take philosophy alone, the volumes edited by Professor Muirhead presents to us the philosophies of sixteen leaders of thought now living or quite recently deceased, each with his own outlook.

It would seem then that little can be gained by endeavouring to relate any religious creed to all modern thought. Yet there may well be great interest in making a selection of beliefs upon which there is extensive agreement, and considering the problem in relation to that; and the interest of such a study will depend upon the importance of the selection adopted.

Two such studies lie before us, by prominent younger members of 'The Churchmen's Union,' which stands for Liberalism in Christian theology within the Church of England. Dr. Matthews is a Professor of Theology who has gained distinction on its philosophical side; Mr. Pryke is a parish priest who has kept up his reading on a creditably high level of general scholarship and thoughtfulness. They coincide to a large extent in their

conceptions of what are the essentials of the Christian faith; both are of the 'Modernists' who have succeeded to the Broad Churchmen of a generation ago. The difference in their dealing with their problem lies in the features of modern thought which they select for consideration, and the reader will find interest in the one rather than the other according to his own affinities with the selection adopted.

Dr. Matthews from the professorial chair takes his view as from the hill of philosophy; though he is of the generous opinion that "there are a great many more philosophers in the world than we usually suppose." He selects as four principal constituents of modern thought on its objective side: (1) our limitation to the cosmos for its own explanation; (2) the continuity of all phenomena in a single cosmos; (3) the dualism as between mind and matter; (4) the prevalence of progress. And three constituents on the subjective side: (5) reason, (6) moral values, and (7) the need and the desire for peace and harmony within the soul.

Accordingly, in so far as the Christian faith has been presented by Tradition up till now with features incompatible with the above principia, there is necessity for reconstruction. It is Dr. Matthews' contention that such reconstruction can be effected; and he sets himself the task of indicating how it can be done.

On this selection we would make a few comments. Is the dualism of number (3) consistent with the unity of number (2)? Have not quite recent leaders of thought brought out many discontinuities, epigenetic appearances, emergents, all over the field? And on the subjective side we miss any recognition of the recent revival of regard for the presence of a mystical factor in human thought. Dr. Matthews in his own writings has shown that he is one of those who look out with a great confidence in the clear vision of Reason, both intellectual and moral; he is the most distinctive successor to the late Dr. Rashdall among the academic clergy of the English Church. But the omission of the 'mystical element' from his selection deprives him of what would be of very great assistance in his undertaking.

It is not possible here to deal with details. It is notable that Dr. Matthews sets himself to vindicate, not only the Christian conceptions of Divine Sovereignty as Love, and of the new values of life opened out for those who think and live by the Gospel, but also the conception of Deity as Trinity, and of

Christ as manifestation of Eternal Logos, with "the message of the potential sonship of every human being."

Mr. Pryke's selection of features of the modern mind is made upon a level more nearly that of the ordinary well-educated man of our time: he even expressly brings in the less educated in so far as he is in earnest in thought and life; and the schoolboy and the child come also within his interest.

His selection of features of the modern mind is as follows:

1. "The assured conclusions of modern science";
2. No miracle *contra naturam;* law is more divine;
3. Some familiarity with legends and folk-lore, especially in religion;
4. Personal character, the highest value;
5. A high ideal of what prayer should be;
6. High moral and social standards;
7. A tendency towards religion.

This is not a systematic selection, but in Mr. Pryke's hands it is a sufficient instrument for the correction of Tradition in favour of Reconstruction. All of them are brought to bear; but as a matter of fact Mr. Pryke uses them not so much directly as in the effects they have had upon men's understanding of the Bible. He deals with the historical reality of the biblical narratives, but with still greater emphasis upon the moral and spiritual features. It is in the clearing away of confusion and irrationality in these that he finds the most urgent need. He deals also with the conceptions of the Church, its creeds, its sacraments and its devotions. And throughout the book we can feel that he is striving to open to the ordinary man the way to the freedom and the joy of believing which he claims that Modernist Churchmanship opens out.

We close with two quotations:

"It is modern thought itself which has taught us to take no age, and the mind of no age, as final" (Dr. Matthews).

"A Church true to its own highest ideals of Christlike service would draw type and power from daily intercourse with a living God" (Mr. Pryke).

A. CALDECOTT.

(Since the above was written by our colleague, Maurice Pryke has passed hence. He will be a great loss to the Modernist movement, not only because of his scholarship, but also because of his great courage.—ED.)

JESUS OF NAZARETH.

His Life, Times and Teaching. By Joseph Klausner, Ph.D. (Heidelberg), Jerusalem. Translated from the Original Hebrew by Herbert Danby, D.D. (Oxford), Residentiary Canon, St. George's Cathedral, Jerusalem. London (Allen & Unwin); pp. 434; 18s. net.

JESUS was a Jew. This is the main burden of Dr. Klausner's important contribution to Life of Jesus study. The proposition is undeniable, though most who have dealt with this endless theme have forgotten or blurred the fact by taking the great figure of the Nazarene out of his time and setting and interpreting it from the standpoint of later dogmatic developments. Dr. Klausner is an excellent scholar, and is the author of many valuable works and articles both in German and Hebrew on biblical and rabbinical subjects. Though of course in any case the standpoint of appreciation of the Christian scholar must necessarily be radically different from that of a Jew who remains faithful to his own tradition, the independent historian cannot but be thankful to so well-informed a writer for so frank and objective a treatment of the subject-matter, and for enabling him to look at the picture from a point of view that is seldom made accessible to him. It is not too much to say that many things become clearer when kept strictly within the Jewish setting, and that the general objectivity of the Jewish mind in things religious makes many a belief comprehensible for the time, which apologists later on have striven to allegorize or sublimate. Dr. Klausner is well read in generally accessible modern critical research; but beyond this he is very familiar with a large body of what we may call Neo-Hebrew literature, which is unknown to all but a handful of Christian scholars. He has written much himself in Hebrew, and has chosen the ancient tongue of his people for his present work, not only for the sake of his compatriots in Galicia and South Russia, but also because of the revival of Hebrew in Palestine. No Life of Jesus on modern lines has hitherto existed in Hebrew that was not either from a pro-Christian standpoint, for purposes of propaganda, or from the opposite point of view, to render Christianity obnoxious to the Jews. Dr. Klausner claims that he has tried to be impartial, and to avoid all subjectivity. On such a controversial subject, however, it is impossible to reach quite to so

high a standard. Here neither Jew nor Christian can be really free from subjectivity; and no Chinese or Hindu historian, for instance, who might presumably be impartial, has the equipment to write at first hand on the subject.

The main difficulty of Dr. Klausner is to explain the Talmud Jesus stories and mediæval Toledoth Jeshu. He can do little with them, and has practically to give them up; they are devoid of all historical worth. In introducing them, he refers to my own study on the subject, but he has evidently not read it. He says it was published anonymously, and that I believe in the 100 years B.C. date! The burden of my book, on the contrary, was to make precise the dilemma for Jewish scholars,—the gross contradictions in these accounts. Either they must explain them historically, or give up the Talmud in this respect. Dr. K. prefers the latter alternative. The book is excellently translated by Canon Danby.

G. R. S. M.

The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy.

By W. O. E. Oesterley, D.D. Oxford (The Clarendon Press); pp. 248; 14s. net.

In this book Dr. Oesterley endeavours to reconstruct the Jewish background for the beginnings of the Christian liturgy. Unless a definite start can be shown, religious ceremonies and practices offer a peculiar difficulty to investigation concerning their beginnings. Whenever a change of faith takes place, it is simply the formal element which is given up. It is theory which may go overboard, the abstract principles which may suffer. It is not the ceremony or the practical form of religious life which is easily modified. On the contrary, it has a tenacity of its own, and we therefore meet with many survivals in modern practice and in popular lore. The beginnings of the Christian liturgy are shrouded in great darkness. Although we could infer that the first Christians continued their Jewish habits, Dr. Oesterley now gives evidence of it. He first selects out of the Jewish liturgy those portions which he believes can be assumed as being pre-Christian, and then comparing these with fragments which are scattered throughout the literature of primitive Christianity, he shows the close connexion between the one and the other. In not a few cases, however, the proof is only hypothetical, and if

at some time or other the Mysteries, Mithriac and others, could also be brought within the scope of a similar investigation, and the influence traced which they have exercised on Christian liturgy, then the contribution which the Jewish element has made would come out more clearly. The material for the latter has now been gathered in fully and in a scholarly manner by Dr. Oesterley. The blend of both is, no doubt, an important psychical phenomenon.

There are some additional chapters, however, on which I prefer to touch very lightly. The exact day of the crucifixion must be left to theologians. Suffice it to state that, according to Dr. Oesterley, the Supper was not the Passover-meal; and therein, I believe, one can easily concur, without, however, adopting Dr. Oesterley's arguments for the origin of the Eucharist. The breaking of the bread and drinking of the wine, as described by Dr. Oesterley, does not correspond with Jewish traditions and ceremony. The Agape, on the other hand, may have had its origin among the Essenes or among the Mysteries. Despite these apparent shortcomings, the book is very suggestive, just because it raises controversial problems, and thus stimulates investigation and research, whilst at the same time, it contains very solid information on subjects otherwise known only to a few select scholars.

M. GASTER.

PSYCHE.

The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Greeks. By Erwin Rohde. Translated from the 8th edition by W. B. Hillis, M.A. London (Kegan Paul); pp. 626; 25s. net.

IT seems somewhat late in the day to have an English version of Erwin Rohde's famous treatise *Psyche*, which was first published in 1893. Rohde himself revised it slightly in 1897, but paid little or no attention to his critics; and after his death successive editors Schöll-Dieterich and Boll-Weinreich left it substantially unchanged. Rohde refused in the 2nd ed. to put the voluminous notes on every page into an appendix, so as to make the book more palatable for the general reader; but the English version, which is well done, has relegated them to the end of the chapters. The necessity of having continually to be turning forwards and backwards is, to say the least of it, a great nuisance, and Rohde

himself was more considerate for students in his decision. It would be out of place at this late hour to review this standard work, which has the chief merit of being within its measures the first really systematic and literary objective survey of the subject; it holds a rank comparable somewhat to that of Lobeck's famous *Aglaophamus*, of a century ago, which systematically assembled and criticized the available data on the Greek Mysteries, and put an end once for all for scholars to the speculative and subjective treatment of the subject which had previously been in vogue. So far, so good; but the labours of Rohde are somewhat unequal. While he bestowed perhaps too much labour on the vague and shadowy Homeric data in comparison with later periods, when he comes to the end of the tale, the great age of the Later Platonists, who sum up the whole culture of the past, and who in one way or another knew more of this special subject than their predecessors, Rohde entirely fails us; a beggarly two pages disposes of them. There is also very little comparative work in the volume; and as for any elucidation from the point of view of abnormal psychology, we find just a page on multiple personality tucked away in an appendix. The English editor follows the example of the German editors in refraining from adding any mention of the work done during the last generation on this important topic, but we could have wished that at least a bibliography up to date had been added. Much good work has been done since; but it was Erwin Rohde who set the example.

Le Poète Tibétain Milarépa.

Ses Crimes, ses Épreuves, son Nirvāna. Traduit du Tibétain avec une Introduction et un Index par Jacques Bacot. Quarante Bois de Jean Buhot d'après une Iconographie tibétaine de la Vie de Milarépa. Paris (Éditions Bossard); pp. 302; 30frs.

In the Oct. no., 1923, we published a short sketch of the life of the famous Tibetan Buddhist saint Milarepa (Mila-raspa) by Mr. W. L. Campbell, and so introduced him to our readers. The Life of Milarepa, who flourished in the 11th century, is the most popular story even to-day in Tibet. He started on wrong lines, became the pupil of a 'Red-cap' magician, and brought disaster on a rascally uncle and aunt who had treated the boy with great cruelty and robbed him of his patrimony. Thereafter he was

converted from this sorry type of Tāntrik Buddhism and became a 'Yellow-cap.' He practised the most incredible austerities, dwelling in caves alone in the bitter cold of Mt. Everest with next to nothing to eat and clad in a single linen garment, keeping himself alive by 'internal breathing.' Attaining to 'enlightenment' he had many pupils, and passed away in the odour of sanctity. But apart from his terrific asceticism, Milarepa was a great poet in the estimation of the Tibetans, and his verses are greatly beloved. A number of these are given in the Life, but do not seem, to our poor judgment, to translate very well out of their native diction and environment. It is, however, good to have this French version of so famous a popular work, which cannot fail to interest the student of religious experience in all its many varieties. The translation is prefaced by an interesting and sympathetic Introduction by M. J. Bacot, and the volume is published in the series 'Les Classiques de l'Orient' under the direction of M. Victor Goloubew. The edition is restricted to 1,500 numbered copies. We learn from Mr. Evans Wentz that, before his regretted death, the learned Lama Dusamdap Kazi, who helped Sir John Woodroffe in some of his work on Tāntrik texts, had Englished the Life and that this may be edited before long and published. The 40 woodcuts are of interest.

The Facts of Psychic Science and Philosophy.

Collected and Discussed by A. Campbell Holms. London (Kegan Paul); pp. 512; 25s. n.

We have before us a very useful compilation. The literature of modern spiritualism and psychical research is now exceedingly vast. To-day, after 78 years, no one but the most determined student, with nothing else to do for years, can hope to gain a first-hand acquaintance with it. It was vast enough in all conscience when we began to try to cope with it 40 years ago; but it has multiplied prodigiously since then. Mr. Holms is the author of *Practical Shipbuilding*. One would have thought, perhaps, that he was hardly the man to write a digest of psychical literature. On the contrary, he has done his task exceedingly well; his practical mind has seen what the general reader wants, and he has 'delivered the goods.' One of the most valuable features of Mr. Holms' fat volume is the considerable space he devotes to the rich, but now almost forgotten, literature of

spiritualism from 1850 onwards in the U.S.A. It is astonishing what varied and convincing phenomena were had, and in what abundance, in this first period of the movement. Though all classes of phenomena are well represented in the innumerable quotations with which our author's pages are crammed, the greatest space is given to the objective physical class, and the cumulative impression made by the evidence is hard to resist. The volume is well arranged, and should prove of very great utility. No better introduction can be put in the hands of the enquirer. Unless a hopeless 'Babbitt,' he will be simply 'snowed under' with testimony piled on testimony. We certainly shall do all we can to recommend this collection far and wide. Not only does it bring together between two covers more than ever has been attempted before, but also, whatever opinions are expressed, they are marked with sobriety and good common sense.

THOSE EARLIEST DAYS.

By Tychicus. London (Murray); pp. 330; 7s. 6d. n.

THIS is an imaginative piece of work,—an attempt by a modern mind to write in the fashion of 'Luke' to 'Theophilus.' It deals with the *Acts*, and its standpoint is extremely reactionary: *e.g.* it would put the date of their compilation in or about 60 A.D.! There is a heavy humour about it; and, worse still, it too frequently indulges in exhortation. On looking back we find the pages of our copy dotted with our very numerous pencilled queries. That is to say, we are very doubtful about many things in the volume, and especially about numerous inferences and glosses of the writer. Though even at the beginning we were conscious of certain familiarities of style and of idea of the anonymous author, it was not till we had got half-way through, and were confronted with certain analogies in which Manchester and Birmingham played a conspicuous part, that it dawned upon us that we were reading the last work of a distinguished scholar. From him we have previously learned much out-of-the-way lore on biblical and critical subjects, and to him chiefly we owe that very great discovery in New Testament history,—the recovery of the earliest book of the Christians, the *Testimonies*, or Messianic Proof-texts, *against the Jews*. Had this veteran scholar put his name on the title-page, we should doubtless have read his pages with far greater respect and with a very restrained critical attitude. But

coming to them fresh in their unauthoritative anonymous disguise, we have queried and questioned in unprejudiced freedom. What puzzles us is why R. H. should put forward this reactionary study without attaching his *nomen* and *cognomen* to it. He surely could not have expected to escape discovery by anyone familiar with the many valuable volumes of his long lustra of labour, some three-quarters of fourscore years.

THE GINZĀ.

Der Schatz oder das grosse Buch der Mandäer. Übersetzt und erklärt von Mark Lidzbarski. Göttingen (Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht); pp. 617; M. 38.

READERS of THE QUEST are by now so familiar—more familiar in fact than any other body of readers in this country—with the subject of the Mandæans, or mystical followers of John the Baptizer, that it is unnecessary in this notice to do more than call their attention to this, the greatest event in the progress of our knowledge of the literature of the Nazaræans. At last we have Prof. Mark Lidzbarski's long-expected version of their chief and oldest collection of texts from a doubtless at one time far more extensive literature. This completes his great task and the trilogy; the two other collections being *The John-Book* and *The Liturgies*. There lies before us in this handsome large 8vo volume of upwards of 600pp. a rich banquet of good things,—material of the utmost value for the comparative study of the Gnosis. And not only this, but also, and perhaps of greater importance, an entirely independent development of a high faith and intensely interesting mystical tradition, paralleling the origin and century-by-century growth of Christianity. At last we have a full and trustworthy translation of the *Ginzā*, The Treasury or Great Book, of the Observers (Nazarāya), or Guardians of what they claimed to be the Primal Revelation and Tradition. Our own carefully considered and deliberate opinion is that in the near future Mandæan study and research will reveal ever more clearly one of the most valuable and indispensable backgrounds of Christian origins. We thank with heartfelt thankfulness Prof. Lidzbarski for this priceless gift to scholarship. In his great volume, however, he has almost entirely confined his labours to translation. The Introduction tells us nothing fresh, and the innumerable problems of origin and development and comparative treatment are not

touched upon. But others are beginning to dig valuable ores out of this rich mine. Apart from the pioneer labours of Reitzenstein, Prof. Bultmann's intensely interesting parallels between very numerous passages in the Mandæan scriptures and the Fourth Gospel have now been made accessible to our readers. And we are only at the very beginning of this new quest.

THE WAY OF ATTAINMENT.

By Sydney T. Klein. London (Rider); pp. 220; 5s. n.

THIS small book may be recommended as a lucid introduction to what may be termed Modernistic Mysticism.

All mysticism inevitably tends to pantheism, and the present work is no exception. It is based mainly on an acceptance of science, and is permeated with monistic teaching in spite of occasional verbal professions of dualism (cp. pp. 180, 184, 208 *et passim*).

The ethic of religious monism denies the reality of evil and imperfection, and so we find it here. The influence of the doctrine of relativity is widely apparent; all reality being denied to phenomena and a system of noumenalism or Berkleyian idealism being urged. The tendencies of the most recent physics certainly support this doctrine in the electronic theory.

The revolt against rationalism, so pronounced at the present time, is also in evidence throughout the book, the inner light being appealed to as the ultimate source of Truth. Bergsonian Intuitionalism, founded as it is on Kantian Subjectivism, is here maintained very consistently. This on the practical side brings the teaching into accord with that of the Christian Scientists (cp. p. 153). The Nestorian doctrine of a dual personality in Christ is adopted (p. 144), and the difficulties encountered in the doctrine of the Virgin Birth are ingeniously dealt with throughout chapter IV.

In its reliance upon modern science the book is strongly reminiscent of Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, and one is irresistibly reminded of a famous and oft-quoted passage in Paley's *Natural Theology* on p. 95. The trichotomistic teaching as to human nature is boldly adopted, and the ultimate annihilation of the wicked is plainly intimated as in agreement with the course of physical evolution. The eternal is the only real, the temporal being nought but shadow,—a literal enforcement of the Pauline teaching.

The way of attainment here proposed is then to be convinced of the literal nothingness of matter, and the reality only of spirit, turning inward instead of outward for knowledge—a pure subjectivism.

As already indicated, there is nothing original in the ideas put forth; but they are nevertheless presented in a cogent, undogmatic and reverent fashion which may win the sympathy and support of many minds struggling with religious doubts and unable to find any comfort in the paths of orthodoxy. W. M. WESTON.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO RELIGION.

The Rev. Prof. W. R. Matthews, D.D. London (Longmans); pp. 74; 3s.

THE substance of two lectures delivered in Liverpool is here given; and perhaps owing to the mode of presentation the treatment of what is a far-reaching subject is very slight and it may be added somewhat unsatisfactory. The main points emerging are:

1. That modern psychology has established the naturalness as opposed to the former theories of the artificiality of Religion.

2. That Conversion is not only a natural process, but one that is inevitable in the due progress of the growth of personality; the resolution of the conflicts arising at the different epochs of life and the consequent integration of the self, the failure to effect which leads to pathological conditions of the mind.

It is acutely observed that the relaxation of the Will, so often noted just previous to the crisis of Conversion, is due to the displacement of the old by the new self and the necessary interval or interregnum which occurs.

The lecture dealing with the contribution of modern psychology to the belief in immortality is the least satisfying portion of this short book. The question is really one essentially for philosophy, and nothing that psychology has to tell us really bears on the question. The mechanism of the mind, which is the subject-matter of the science of psychology, leaves the nature and destiny of the mind itself unexplained as outside its province.

W. M. WESTON.

AUFSÄTZE ZUR GEISTESGESCHICHTE UND RELIGIONSSOZIOLOGIE.

Von Ernst Troeltsch. Tübingen (J. C. B. Mohr-Paul Siebeck); pp. xxviii + 872; £2.

THE fourth and concluding volume of Troeltsch's collected works has now appeared and completes in an admirable manner the

other three, previously reviewed in THE QUEST. The wealth of learning and philosophical insight gathered between the two covers of this book is simply overwhelming.

The reviewer can do no more than point out from the table of contents, which alone extends over eight pages, a few significant titles: Religion, Economics and Society; Belief and Ethos of the Hebrew Prophets; Origins of the Primitive Church; Epochs and Types of Christian Social Philosophy; Christian Nature-Right; The Relations between Protestantism and Secular Culture; Calvinism and Lutheranism; Luther, Protestantism and the Modern World; Renaissance and Reformation; Essential Element of the Modern Spiritual Attitude; English Moralists of the 17th and 18th Century; Deism; Leibnitz and the Beginnings of Pietism; German 'Idealism'; The Restoration Epoch at the Beginning of the 19th Century; The 19th Century.

Every one of these essays is a mine of information, and more than that a piece of literature in the best sense of the word.

R. EISLER.

VISIONS AND JEWELS.

An Autobiography by Moysheh Oyved. London (Benn); pp. 173; 6s. net.

THIS is a very uncommon and charming life-story of a poet and mystic and a lover of beautiful things,—chiefly cameos, precious stones and *bibelots*. Moysheh Oyved (Edward Good), the Yiddish poet, is not unknown to our readers, for two or three of his striking verse-pieces have appeared in our pages in English dress. Those who love to hear of Jewry from within, should read this intimate life-history of one of her children, born in a Polish environment, who first for years revolted, and then was caught up into the Light, and wrote *Out of Chaos*, with a soul overflowing with love to humanity. They will be delighted with Moysheh Oyved's (Moses the Servant's) naïve and simple narrative. For ourselves we have read it with rapt attention without laying it down till we came to the last word.

THE GLORY OF GOD.

Three Lectures. By I. Abrahams, Reader in Talmudic, University of Cambridge. Oxford University Press; pp. 88; 3s. 6d. net.

IT is saddening to think that this is, perhaps, the last gift to us from the pen of one who has laboured so sedulously and fruitfully

to make Jewish religious thought better known to Christians and Christian teachings more explicit to Jews. Dr. Israel Abrahams has passed away from our ken, leaving behind him a memory held in honour by very large numbers and affectionately cherished by his many friends. The booklet before us brings out his high qualities of insight and balanced judgment, his profound knowledge of scripture and deep religious feeling. Among much else that is instructive, the chief point of interest to ourselves is his exposition of the gradual unfolding of the rich content implicit in the high figure and concept of the Shekinah. The whole is so presented as to come within the compass of the general reader; it is very readable.

THE ALBIGENSIAN OR CATHARIST HERESY.

A Story and a Study. By Edmond Holmes, Author of 'The Creed of Christ,' etc. London (Williams & Norgate); pp. 138; 5s. net.

THIS is a clearly written and popular account by our distinguished colleague of what Roman Catholic writers call 'The Great Heresy,' that was so remorselessly stamped out by the Church and the Inquisition in the 13th century. Mr. Holmes does not profess to bring forward anything historically new, but relies chiefly on the Strasburg Professor G. Schmidt's 2 volumes, *Histoire et Doctrine de la Secte des Cathares ou Albigeois* (1849). This painstaking and well-documented work is now rare, but has not been superseded by a more complete survey, though there are of course subsidiary shorter studies. Mr. Holmes has been struck by the lack of any account of this ascetic and mystical movement for the general reader in English, and his booklet is intended to fill the gap. Historically it is a pitiable story he has to tell, as all students know. The doctrines of the Cathars which so greatly alarmed the Papal Church are of interest to historians of religion as preserving a number of 'gnostic' elements dominated by a fundamental Manichæan influence. The exaggerated dualism of the latter, it is true, estranges our philosophic sympathy, but at the same time there is no little of interest in some other of their doctrines. The line of descent was through the Bogomiles, or God-beloved, of the Balkans of the 11th century, who inherited from Hither Asia a selection from its rich syncretisms of belief and practice. Mr. Holmes views the matter from the standpoint of an undogmatic mystic as to doctrine and of one in sympathy

with the persecuted and exterminated as a historian. We certainly need a new substantive study of this tragic episode in English, which should include the results of all the recent work that has been done on the Oriental Gnostics and Manichæans. A new world, one may almost say, has been of late opened up to us in this respect, and Mr. Holmes' sketch will serve as more than a reminder to the general reader, if it can also induce some competent scholar to give us what we now require.

THE SEARCH AFTER REALITY.

Thoughts on Hinduism, Buddhism, Mahamadanism and Christianity. By Sadhu Sundar Singh. London (Macmillan); pp. 105; 3s. net.

CANON STREETER and Mr. Appasamy have done the very best they could for Mr. Sundar Singh in their most interesting sketch of him, called *The Sadhu*. When we noticed recently a small volume of his own entitled *Reality and Religion* we were compelled to withhold all eulogy. It is the same with this present booklet, translated from the Urdu MS. by the Rev. T. E. Riddle of the New Zealand Presbyterian Mission, Punjab. Sadhu Sundar Singh is not a student; and we fear,—though doubtless quite unconsciously, as frequently happens with some types of sincere piety,—he misrepresents the fundamentals of the great religions he tries to think about. His exposition of Christianity moves strictly within traditional lines, and is saved from indistinction only by the fact that he has had religious experience within Christian forms. In other respects, he is a 'Fundamentalist,' and Criticism and Modernism are, in his view, past praying for.

THE MYSTICS OF THE CHURCH.

By Evelyn Underhill, Author of 'Mysticism,' etc. London (James Clarke); pp. 260; 6s. net.

IN this well-arranged and well-written book Evelyn Underhill manages frequently to bring out new points of interest in the lives of the Christian mystics of whom for the most part she has already written at length in previous volumes. She endeavours to make them living men and women for her readers. As is her wont, wherever she legitimately can do so, she stresses their participation in the 'active life' as distinguished from the 'contemplative.' But what we specially notice in the present volume

is the endeavour to bring out the importance of 'institutional religion,' and to show, where possible, the enjoyment the mystics took in it. There were exceptions, and notable ones; but it is evident that our authoress thinks that these missed something of great value. Here we almost gain the impression from her that the chief virtue of the mystics should be to keep things as they are doctrinally and institutionally; but this surely cannot be quite the intention of our authoress. Nevertheless her last contribution to the study she has made so considerably her own would run no risk, as far as we can see, of being refused the *imprimatur*, were she a member of that communion which resorts to such expedients. The mystics of the Eastern Church are without any representative; but that is a common *lacuna* in books on Christian mysticism in the West. The volume is one of 'The Living Church' series edited by Prof. John E. McFadyen, D.D., of the United Free Church College, Glasgow.

Mediaeval Devotions to the Sacred Heart.

By K. Richstätter, S.J. London (Burns, Oates & Washbourne); pp. xii. + 289; 4s.

The canonization of St. John Eudes gives a special interest to this collection of Fr. Richstätter's. It shews how thoroughly mediæval rather than the product of 17th century zeal this cultus is. The devotions collected in this volume are gathered from a hundred Middle German MSS. dating from the 14th to the 16th centuries, and they include little offices, hymns and aspirations as well as prayers proper. The illustrations likewise testify to the appeal which this devotion made to craftsmen in wood, metal and needlework. The non-Catholic Englishman finds some difficulty in entering into prayers directly apostrophizing the Heart of Jesus, but the passion of these aspirations is undeniable and may well kindle the sluggish emotions of twentieth-century lovers of Christ.

Albert A. Cock.

(Owing to the abnormal make-up of this number,—with its special leading article and the necessity of completing Prof. Bultmann's Mandæan parallels to the Fourth Gospel in the Old Series,—three papers, which would otherwise have appeared in this issue, have perforce to be held over to the New Series. Our sincere apologies to the writers for this unforeseen disappointment.—Ed.)

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